DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 337 339 RC 018 366

AUTHOR	Aparicio, Teresa, Comp.
TITLE	IWGIA Yearbook 1990.
INSTITUTION	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Copenhagen (Denmark).
PUB DATE	91
NOTE	278p.
PUB TYPE	Information Analyses (070) -- Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Civil Liberties; *Conservation (Environment); Environmental Influences; Foreign Countries; *Indigenous Populations; *International Organizations; Natural Resources; Poverty; Rural Areas
IDENTIFIERS	*International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs; Land Claims; *Resource Management

ABSTRACT

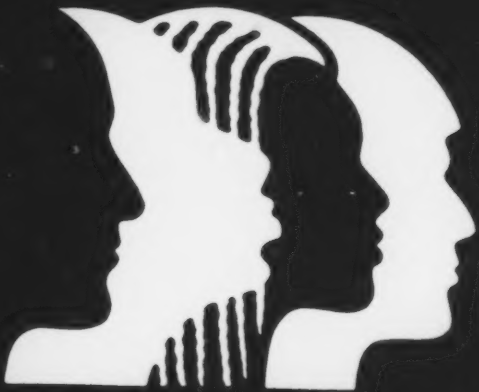
This yearbook focuses on environmental issues and resource management as seen from the perspective of indigenous peoples. "Part I: IWGIA World" contains the International Work Groups for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) annual report. The report describes IWGIA's present structure and the activities of four National IWGIA groups in Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, and Denmark. It provides information on finances, visitors to the International Secretariat, and networking trips; and introduces IWGIA's publications. "Part II: The Indigenous World" deals with events and conditions affecting indigenous peoples throughout the world. This part is divided geographically to include: the Arctic regions, the Americas, Australia and Aotearoa, Asia, and Africa. "Part III: Indigenous Rights" consists of a report on the work of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, which is currently drafting a Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights. "Part IV: Indigenous Conferences" includes reports on two indigenous conferences, namely, the 6th Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, and the 2nd International Indigenous Women Conference. Both conferences dealt with environmental issues. "Part V: Indigenous Focus" presents articles addressing environmental issues seen from the perspective of indigenous peoples from Africa and South America. The December 1990 IWGIA Newsletter is included. This document contains numerous maps and photographs of the areas described. (KS)

****
*   Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made   *
*   from the original document.   *
****

ED 337339

YEARBOOK 1990

IWGIA



RC 018366

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN OTHER THAN PAPER COPY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

IWGIA

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

IWGIA DOCUMENT
ISSN 0902-6266

The International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) is an independent, international organization which supports indigenous peoples in their struggle against oppression. IWGIA publishes the IWGIA Documents Series in English or Spanish and occasionally some titles are published in both. The IWGIA Newsletter (English) and the IWGIA Boletin (Spanish) are published four times annually. The Documentation and Research Department welcomes suggestions as well as contributions to the aforementioned publications.

IWGIA publications can be obtained through subscription or purchased separately. Subscription fees for 1991 are the following: English language publications for individuals cost US $ 35 (£20 or D. Kr. 225), and for institutions US $ 65 (£ 40 or D. Kr. 440) while Spanish language publications for individuals cost US $ 30 and for institutions US $ 60.

Please make your cheques payable to:
International Secretariat, IWGIA
Fiolstraede 10, DK-1171 Copenhagen K
DENMARK
Phone:+ 45 33 12 47 24; Telefax:+ 45 33 14 77 49

International Board of IWGIA:
René Fuerst (Chairperson), Georg Henriksen (Vice-Chairperson), Aud Talle; Espen Wæhle, Teresa Aparicio, Jens Dahl, Karen Bundgaard Andersen, Andrew Gray, and representatives of the IWGIA National Groups.

Executive Committee:
Rene Fuerst, Georg Henriksen, Teresa Aparicio, Jens Dahl, and Karen Andersen.

International Secretariat of IWGIA:
Executive Directors: Teresa Aparicio, Jens Dahl

Secretary to the Directors: Lola García-Alix

Administration: Karen Bundgaard Andersen

Publications: Filomenita Mongaya Høgsholm, Mario Di Lucci

Researcher: Andrew Gray

Staff: Jørgen Abelsen, Ahmed Bouhadi, Leena Christensen, Karen Degnbol, Solveig Lindenstrøm, Claus Oreskov, Peter Forsing.

This edition of the Yearbook has been compiled and edited by Teresa Aparicio.

IWGIA

Yearbook
1990

Copenhagen 1991

[illegible] 4

Contents

Introduction 5

Part I: IWGIA World 9
Annual Report 1990 11

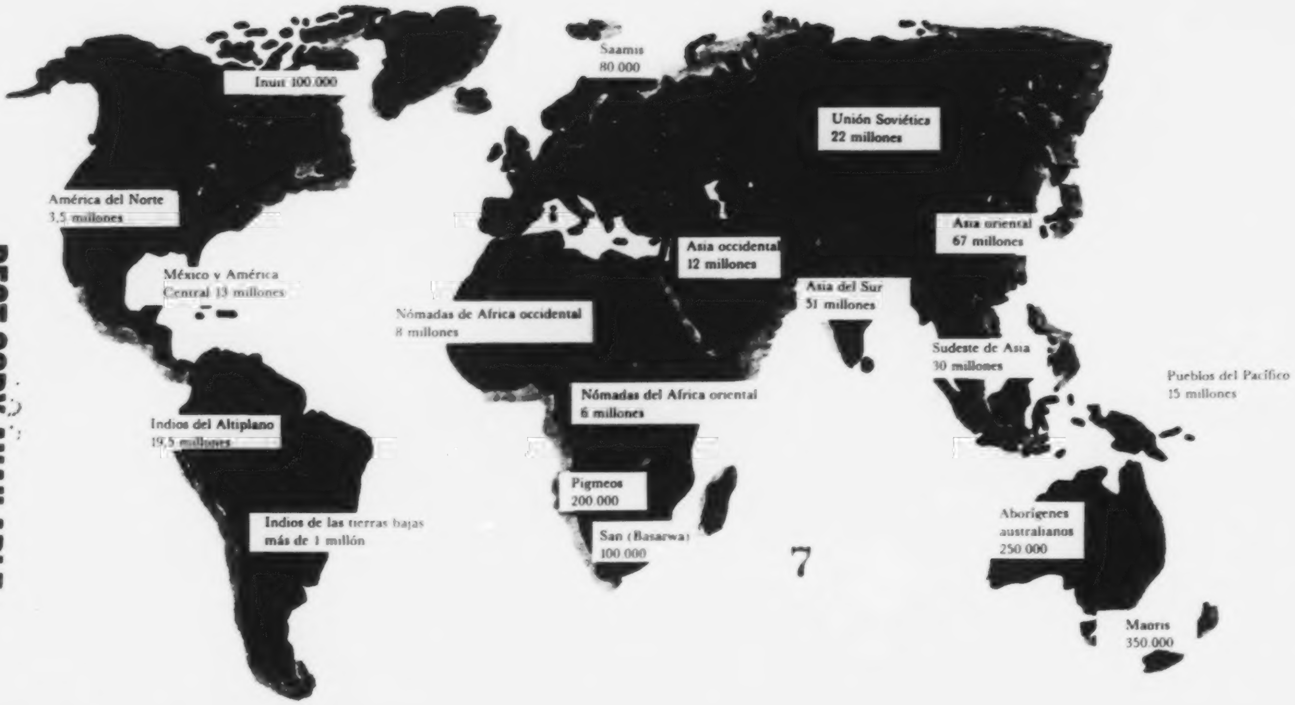
Part II: The Indigenous World 37
The Arctic 37
North America 47
Central America and Mexico 65
South America 71
Australia and Aotearoa 89
East Asia 97
Southeast Asia 101
South Asia 127
West and Central Asia 135
Europe and North Asia 141
Africa 145
Northern Africa 148
West Africa 150
The Horn of Africa 152
East Africa 158
Central Africa 159
Southern Africa 161

Part III: Indigenous Rights 165
Report on the Eighth Session of the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations, by Andrew Gray and Jens Dahl. 167

Part IV: Indigenous Meetings. 175
The World Environmental Crisis and Perspectives on Sustainable Development, by Teresa Aparicio 177
Sixth General Assembly of the World Council for Indigenous Peoples, by Georg Henriksen 191

Part V: Indigenous Focus 201
Africa: Indigenous Peoples and the Environment, by Espen Wæhle . . 203
    The Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa (PENHA) 217
    The Buffalo Fence Extension: Ngamiland, Botswana 225

Amazon: The COICA for the Future of the Amazon,
by Evaristo Nugkuag, COICA 235
Agenda for the Bilateral and Multilateral funders of
Amazon development, by Evaristo Nugkuag, COICA 251
Towards a Forest Peoples' Charter, by Marcus Colchester, WRM 257
Indigenous Women, Environment and Sustainable development, by
Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, CWERC 265
The Home Rule natural resource management and environmental
protection programme, by Finn Lynge 275



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Introduction

by Teresa Aparicio

The main objective of this **IWGIA Yearbook,** is to focus on environmental issues and resource management as seen from the perspective of indigenous peoples. To this effect, indigenous persons from the Arctic, the Amazon, Asia, and Africa, have collaborated towards this effort with their contributions to this edition of the Yearbook.

A large part of indigenous conferences and meetings in different regions of the world during 1990, have likewise dealt with the environment, and with the destruction, the pollution, and loss of lands which indigenous

Maasai boys herding goats in Ngorongoro, Tanzania. Land rights and environmental rights being inextricably linked together, indigenous peoples are organizing themselves across ethnic and geographic boundaries to tackle both. (Photo: Frans Welman, WIP)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

peoples are facing. This is what Amazonian Indians call the **ecocide** of indigenous lands.

The forces behind these activities are, first of all, mining, timber, farming and stock-breeding corporations, both national and international, who, supported politically and economically by the governments of the countries where the resource-extraction activities are taking place, press increasingly their economic frontiers into indigenous territories.

Furthermore, the inability of governments to develop policies designed to mitigate poverty through social and economic reforms, and thereby able to provide the basis for a respectable human existence, has obvious and serious consequences for both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. One of these is the confrontations, often resulting in deaths and suffering, between indigenous nations and groups of the poor and the landless, who without any means of subsistence, are pushed into indigenous territories in order to survive.

A most positive step towards trying to examine and to evaluate this situation has resulted in agreements of co-operation between indigenous peoples and other oppressed groups. For instance, in Venezuela, meetings have been held between Indians and dispossessed black people; and in Brazil several meetings between Indians on the one side, and rubber-tappers and river-breeders ("ribeirinhos") on the other, have been held.

A large number of indigenous nations are tackling land rights and environmental threats by organizing themselves across ethnic and geographic boundaries. They are also establishing links with national and international NGOs, most especially with environmental organizations.

Regional and inter-regional conferences and seminars dealing with different environmental world zones, bear witness to these newly-established indigenous linkages. One of these has been recorded in the ***Iquitos Declaration***, a Document of co-operation between Amazonian Indians, environmental organizations and support groups. In Asia, the World Rainforest Movement, a coordinating body among indigenous peoples, environmentalists, and social scientists, is in a process of rapid consolidation. In Africa, the Pastoral and Environmental Network (PENHA) has been recently established. And in the Arctic regions, indigenous peoples are inviting politicians, environmentalists, and support organizations to discuss world environmental policies which affect them.

Environmental rights and land-rights are inextricably linked together because among others, environmental demands are largely based on the inalienable rights of indigenous peoples to their territories. Land-rights problems continue to be one of the major cause of conflicts between indigenous and non-indigenous groups, first and foremost with certain parts of the governments that these indigenous nations are living under.

The extent and character of land conflicts seem to be endless. They range from gross disrespect and contempt towards indigenous land-rights and sovereignty, to genocidal politics aiming to dispossess whole indigenous nations of their lands. The former was demonstrated by the Canadian

Government, who sent its police and military forces to press the Mohawk nation to accept something so trivial as the extension of a golf course into sacred Mohawk burial grounds. The same government has delayed for no less than 28 years the land-rights negotiations with the Blackfoot nation.

A flagrant and brutal dispossession of indigenous peoples of their lands is taking place in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, spearheaded by the Bangladeshi government. Tribal nations of the CHT are being systematically tortured and killed by police and military forces, their villages are being burned, their fields robbed; impoverished Bengali settlers are taking illegal possession of indigenous lands with logistical support from military and police forces.

The militarization of indigenous territories is often linked to indigenous territorial sovereignty and environmental rights, and human rights abuses are often a consequence of the same militarization. This is the case in the CHT of Bangladesh, in the Cordillera region of the Philippines, in Chinese-occupied Tibet, in Nagaland, in East Timor and West Papua, in Guatemala and El Salvador, just to name a few.

These, and other issues highlighted in this brief introduction, are examined more closely in this **IWGIA Yearbook** which this time is organized into the following five parts:

Part I: IWGIA World contains IWGIA's annual report dealing with IWGIA's activities during 1990. Chronologically, the report starts with an introduction and a description of IWGIA's present structure. It follows the activities of the four National IWGIA groups in Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, and Denmark. Afterwards, information is given on different topics, such as, IWGIA's finances, visitors to the International Secretariat in Copenhagen, and networking trips as well as participation in Conferences.

The last part of the Annual Report deals with IWGIA's publications, and all IWGIA Documents published during 1990 are briefly introduced. IWGIA's working programmes are likewise presented: namely, human rights, development work, and research activities. The report closes with a short conclusion and an overview of IWGIA's work in the future.

Part II: The Indigenous World deals with events concerning indigenous peoples' and their situation throughout the world. Geographically, this part is divided into the Arctic regions, the Americas, Australia and Aotearoa, Asia, and Africa. Each of the regions is subdivided according to the distribution of indigenous nations in each of the countries.

Part III: Indigenous Rights consist of a report on the work of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP), which is currently drafting a Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights. Indigenous representatives from throughout the world meet every year with the Working Group in the UN in Geneva, in order to discuss the preliminary draft text of the Declaration which is expected to be completed during the next few years.

10

Part IV: Indigenous Conferences includes reports on two indigenous conferences, namely, the 6th Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, and the 2nd International Indigenous Women Conference. Both Conferences dealt with environmental issues and in the latter, these were examined from the perspective of the role of indigenous women in their societies.

Part V: Indigenous Focus is centred around environmental issues seen from the perspective of indigenous peoples from different parts of the world. The work on the Amazon Basin, written by Evaristo Nugkuag, the President of the Coordinating Body of the Indigenous Organisations of the Amazon Basin (COICA), has been published before. However, it has been reproduced here because we consider it as important and as topical as when it was first written. The other contributions have been written especially for this IWGIA Yearbook.

Acknowledgements

IWGIA wishes to thank all those persons, who through their work and help, have contributed to the making of this **Yearbook.** We are especially grateful for the cooperation from the following persons who have kindly contributed with manuscripts to Part II on the Indigenous World:

The Arctic	Jens Dahl and Frank Sejersen
North America	
Canada	Claus Oreskov, Frank Sejersen, Georg Henriksen
Native America	Arne Thomassen
Central America and Mexico	Teresa Aparicio
South America	Teresa Aparicio
Chile	Reynaldo Maniqueo
Australia and Aotearoa	Jens Dahl
East Asia	
Tibet	Anders Højmark Andersen
Taiwan	Frank Ringsted
Southeast Asia	Frank Ringsted
Philippines	Heiki Blum, Danilo Geiger and Victoria Tauli-Corpuz
Mainland SE Asia	Frank Ringsted
South Asia	Frank Ringsted
West and Central Asia	Asger Christensen
Africa	Espen Wæhle and Aud Talle

IWGIA
World

IWGIA Annual Report

Teresa Aparicio

Introduction

This annual report gives an overview of IWGIA's work and activities during the year that has passed. Several of the issues that IWGIA has been working with for a long time, crystallized during 1990. One of the most important achievements has been that the Independent Commission to investigate human rights violations in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh could finally visit the CHT. The idea to establish an independent Commission started in 1985, among others by IWGIA. After 4 years of co-ordinated efforts, the Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission was established in 1989. IWGIA has participated in the work of the Commission and assisted the Commission during the trip to CHT. The report of the findings will be officially launched in May 1991.

In following closely the events in the indigenous world, IWGIA has centred many of its activities on the relationship between indigenous peoples and the environment. During 1990 alone, several important indigenous

A view of the interior of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. (Photo: IWGIA archives.)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

conferences on environmental issues have been held. Through these activities, international society is developing a growing interest in indigenous models for the conservation and management of natural resources. As a result, participation of indigenous peoples in international conferences dealing with the environment has increased considerably during 1990.

The following international meetings on ecological themes have been held in the past year. GLOBO 90' Conference took place in March, in Vancouver, Canada. Two months later there was a meeting in Penang, Malaysia, co-ordinated by the World Rainforest Movement, an alliance between indigenous peoples and other groups who also live in the rainforest, environmental organisations, and indigenous support organisations. At the same time, the Coordinadora of Indigenous Organisations of the Amazon Basin (COICA), started a very important dialogue with environmental organisations from different countries. To this end, COICA organised a World Conference on the Environment in Iquitos, Peru, with the participation of ecologists, environmentalists, and indigenous peoples which resulted in the **Iquitos Declaration**. During the summer the Conferences held by the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP), and the International Committee of Indigenous Women, both in *Saamiland*, focused on the World Environmental Crisis and Sustainable Development.

During 1990, many organisations, both indigenous and non-indigenous have started to co-ordinate their efforts towards the United Nations

In West Africa, government troops have severely repressed the nomadic Tuaregs in northeastern Mali and Niger. (Photo: IWGIA archives.)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) -also known as ECO' 92- to be held in Brazil in June 1992. So far, the Preparatory Committee for ECO'92, has decided that NGOs, including indigenous NGOs and organisations, may neither fully participate in the preparations for the Conference nor in the Conference itself. The question is whether ECO'92 can really afford to exclude the vast socio-environmental knowledge and experience of indigenous peoples throughout the world, as well as turning its back to the work of a large number of NGOs which have been working for decades on these issues.

Major events in the indigenous world relate to the opening towards Western Europe of many East European countries. A positive outcome of this opening is that indigenous peoples from the USSR have started to relate regularly to other indigenous nations, first of all with the neighbouring *Saami* people from the Nordic countries, as well as with *Inuit* from other Arctic regions.

IWGIA's Yearbook 1990 reflects these new trends and developments in the indigenous world. One of the sections of the Yearbook is entirely devoted to environmental issues from the perspective of indigenous peoples.

While there have been positive developments in the indigenous world during 1990, indigenous peoples still are being discriminated and oppressed; and some nations are also facing the threat of extinction. This is the case of the *Jumma* nations of the CHT on whom reports of tortures and murders have been reported throughout the year. Also in El Salvador and Guatamela, in Central America, as well as in many Asian countries, such as, Tibet, Burma, Philippines, and Thailand, there has been reported harassments and oppression of indigenous peoples.

Targeted harassment and killings of specific indigenous groups took place in Canada and in Africa. In West Africa, governmental troops have massacred, as well as severely repressed and persecuted the Tuareg people in north-eastern Mali and Niger. The massacres followed a more or less forced relocation of thousands of Tuaregs who had been illegal residents in Algeria and Libya. According to reliable sources, the situation in Mali is still alarming, as killings and persecutions continue to be reported. In Canada, one of the leading democracies in the western hemisphere, the Government misused grossly its political and military power against the *Mohawk* nation. The issue was that the Mohawks opposed the governmental project of building a golf course on their traditional lands. In retaliation, the Canadian military attacked the Mohawks who had barricaded themselves. European parlamentarians, as well as NGOs, and support organisations protested against these measures. Eventually a compromise solution was reached acceptable to both parties.

During 1990, IWGIA has documented and published the achievements and the situation of indigenous peoples. Despite their sufferings, indigenous nations all over the world have succeeded in taking a stand and in defending their rights as peoples. This report reflects their situation through IWGIA's work and activities during the year that has passed.

Acknowledgments

The International Board of IWGIA, members of the International Secretariat, and IWGIA National Groups from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland, wish to express our gratitude to the University of Copenhagen in general, and to the Rector of the University, **Ove Nathan**, in particular, for supporting the work of IWGIA for many years, most specially for providing IWGIA with premises in similar conditions as other institutions connected to the University. Likewise, we wish to thank the Institute of Eskimology, Copenhagen University, for a good and long co-operation on indigenous issues in the Arctic regions.

Most members of IWGIA National Groups are students at the Institutes of Anthropology of the Universities of Copenhagen, Oslo, Stockholm, Lund, and Zürich. IWGIA appreciates the valuable support which these academic institutions have extended to the work and activities of the members of IWGIA National Groups.

Finally, we also wish to thank all those who support us financially, such that it is possible for us to continue working with indigenous peoples, especially in documenting and publishing so as to inform on the fights and achievements of indigenous peoples for land rights and self-determination all over the world.

The Structure of IWGIA

The structure of IWGIA is composed of four bodies: the International Board, the Executive Committee, the International Secretariat in Copenhagen, and representatives of IWGIA National Groups. IWGIA held as scheduled two Board Meetings during 1990. The first one was held in Nordmarka (Norway) between April 20-22; and the second at the International Secretariat in Copenhagen, between 4-6 October. All four IWGIA bodies participated at the meetings. The composition and members of IWGIA is as follows:

International Board:

René Fuerst (President 1989/91): Anthropologist, he is the Oceania curator at the Ethnographic Museum in Geneva, Switzerland.
Georg Henriksen (Vice-President): Anthropology Professor at the Institute of Anthropology in Bergen, Norway.
Aud Talle: Anthropologist, she is an Associate Professor at the Department of Social Anthropology in Stockholm.
Andrew Gray: Anthropologist, he is working in England on a three-year research project on indigenous peoples and community development.
Espen Wæhle: Anthropologist, he works at the Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD) in Oslo, Norway.
Teresa Aparicio and *Jens Dahl:* Anthropologists and Executive Directors of the International Secretariat in Copenhagen.
Karen Bundgaard Andersen: Administrator of IWGIA.

Executive Committee:
René Fuerst, Georg Henriksen, Jens Dahl, Karen Bundgaard Andersen, and Teresa Aparicio.

International Secretariat:
Executive Directors: Teresa Aparicio and Jens Dahl.
Secretary to the Directors: Lola García-Alix.
Administrator: Karen Bundgaard Andersen.
Publications: Filomenita Mongaya Høgsholm, Mario Di Lucci.
Researcher: Andrew Gray.
Staff: Jørgen Abelsen, Sheila Aikman, Jørgen Reventlow Bach, Ahmed Bouhadi, Leena Christensen, Karen Degnbol, Solveig Lindenstrom, Claus Oreskov, Peter Forsing, Bodil Prieme, Susanne Ejdesgaard Jeppesen.

National Groups in:
Denmark, Norway, Sweden (Gothenburg and Lund), and Switzerland.

Activities of IWGIA National Groups

IWGIA national groups work mainly at a national level in their respective countries in order to promote indigenous peoples' issues at schools, information-centres, NGOs, and the mass media. Most of the National Group members are anthropologists or students of anthropology, but increasingly students of law, biology, and social sciences in general are joining the activities of the IWGIA national groups.

Sweden. There is a newly-established group in Lund (Sweden), which participated for the first time at IWGIA's Board Meeting in October 1990. According to IWGIA statutes, national groups become official one year after their formal application to IWGIA.

The Sweden-Gothenburg Group has organized five seminars on the situation of indigenous peoples' in Asia, Europe, and in the Amazon region. The seminars dealt with: 1) the *Moro* people from Mindanao, in the Philippines; 2) the situation of indigenous groups in East Timor; 3) the genocide which the indigenous peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh have been suffering for nearly a decade; 4) the situation of the *Yanomami* Indians from northern Brazil who are seeing their lands invaded and destroyed by gold prospectors ; and 5) the situation of the *Saami* people in Sweden. All these seminars have been held at the Department of Social Anthropology in the University of Gothenburg. The Gothenburg group has also been able to raise funds through grassroots activities for a small development project in India, and to help the Yanomami health project in Brazil.

Switzerland. The national group in Zürich has been organizing seminars, lectures, and a film-seminar at the University of Zürich which formed part of the students' curriculum there. This group also made an exhibition on tropical forests and the indigenous peoples inhabiting them, which has been very successful. The film-seminar dealt with the Yanomami Indians in Brazil. The co-ordinated activities on tropical forests resulted in an action day where group members went into the shops and pointed out which products were made of tropical wood to the press and the public. The Zürich group has also helped co-ordinate a European tour for indigenous representatives from the Philippines. They have succeeded in correlating the issue of indigenous peoples with human rights at the UN through a seminar on anthropology in Zürich. Professor Löfler who is a member of the group, has been the *primus motor* behind this idea and he has introduced it as a course in Anthropology.

Norway. The Norwegian national group has been especially active on American issues. One of their activities consisted in handling a shipment of "Submuloc" T-shirts (to mark the Columbus celebrations) for sale in Norway, the proceeds of which will benefit North American Indian groups. Finally, the Oslo group has co-ordinated with the group in Denmark on the Mohawk case, and in connection herewith, has written articles and produced radio-programmes informing on the Mohawk situation and the 1992 celebrations.

Denmark. This group has concentrated on four different regions and in order to be more effective, small groups have been formed around the specific regions. *The Arctic group* has been active on the trapping issue and has developed new contacts in the European Parliament in this connection. Various persons in the Arctic group have joined the newly-established network on Siberian issues which includes persons from both inside and outside IWGIA. Furthermore, the group was involved in the IWGIA-ICC activities under the Parallel Conference of the Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension -the CSCE Process- last June.

The *North America group* has been active in the Leonard Peltier case, as well as on the Mohawk issue. The group hosted the visit of one of Leonard Peltier's lawyers and Frank Dreaver (a *Cree*) who is the leader of the Leonard Peltier Defence Committee in Canada. Together with these two personages, the group formed a common working strategy for future activities. The two visitors were introduced to Greenlandic politicians and Aqqaluk Lynge who is Vice-president of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. During the yearly Roskilde Music Festival, the group arranged an exhibition on Leonard Peltier which reached a lot of people, and had good coverage by 2 local TV stations and the major Danish newspapers. The case of the Mohawk people was presented at the *Land og Folk Festival,* a large popular gathering in Copenhagen where the group gave information on the actual situation. Furthermore, during the Mohawk controversy, IWGIA-DK National Group held a 24-hour vigil outside the Canadian Ambassador's Residence in Copenhagen. The Mohawk issue was presented to Danish politicians and the

IWGIA Denmark highlighted the Leonard Peltier case during the Roskilde Festival (top photo) while it made a stand on the Mohawk issue by holding a 24-hour vigil outside the Canadian Ambassador's residence (bottom photo). (Photos: Jørgen Abelsen)

Bishop of Copenhagen. This resulted in letters of protest to the Canadian government from the Danish Government, certain political parties from the Parliament and from the Bishop of Copenhagen.

The *Asia group* has been especially active in following the case of the indigenous peoples in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh and in Burma. Dr Em Marta, Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Democratic Alliance of Burma, visited IWGIA in summer, and the interview with him by Frank Ringsted from the National Group has been published in Boletin vol.10 3&4/Newsletter 62 published in December '90.

The *South America group* is participating in a co-ordination network among Danish NGOs working towards making a significant input in the 1992 activities in South and Central America.

3. FINANCES

IWGIA'S budget shows a minor deficit for 1990. However, had IWGIA published all its publications on schedule, the deficit would have been slightly higher. In order not to strain unnecessarily this year's budget, IWGIA decided to delay some of the 1990 publications until the beginning of 1991. In this way, we did not have the problems as in other years when, owing to shortage of funds, we were not able to publish as many publications as scheduled.

The 1990 deficit was due to the fact that some of our applications for 1990 were granted only in part. In addition, our most important and permanent financial sources have not raised their contributions during the last few years whereas fixed expenses, such as printers, postage, telephones, etc., have been increasing every year.

As in other years, we have sent applications to potential new funding sources but we have had success in only a few cases. The most important one was a small grant from the Greenlandic Home Rule; this marks the first time that indigenous peoples themselves are supporting IWGIA's work directly.

Increasingly, more of IWGIA's funds, outside of running expenses, are being earmarked for specific activities. Obviously, the more activities we are engaged in, the more pressure on the existing infrastructure such as computers, printers, phones, etc.; hence the need to receive non ear-marked funds in order to be able to maintain, and when necessary, to renew the necessary material structure and equipment at the Secretariat in order to be able to develop and to smoothly run IWGIA's activities.

It has been necessary in 1990 to renew (regenerate) part of our production units because of the volume of production work being carried out at IWGIA. It is worth remembering here that IWGIA publishes approximately 12 publications per year (in both English and Spanish), making it the international NGO that publishes the most on indigenous issues, on a regular basis. The new investments in 1990 of four computers with hard disks and a laser-printer will enable us to do the setting and typography work in-house. Carrying out this part of the production process enables us to exercise some degree of control and flexibility over production schedules. Aside from this, we expect that these new production units will decrease part of our over-all printing costs.

4. VISITORS

During 1990, IWGIA was pleased to host the visits of important indigenous leaders, and of well-known supporters of indigenous rights. They came from as far away places as the Arctic region, including Siberia, from Asia, and from Central and South America. Their visits gave IWGIA valuable and first hand information on the situation of indigenous peoples in their respective countries.

The Arctic. *Mary Simon* from Canada who is President of the ICC (Inuit Circumpolar Conference), and *Aqqaluk Lynge* from Greenland, who is Vice-President of the ICC (for Greenland), visited IWGIA in the beginning of the year. The purpose of their visit was to discuss relationships and future co-operation with IWGIA, as well as to co-ordinate joint activities for the Parallel Activities during the CSCE -Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe- also known as the Conference on the Human Dimension. During the meeting, ICC and IWGIA agreed to co-operate more closely on issues concerning information on indigenous peoples generally, and on issues relating to indigenous peoples in the USSR, specifically.

USSR. *Yuri Rytkheu,* is a member of the *Chukchi people,* from the Soviet Union. He is a well-known indigenous leader, and has written a book on the problems of indigenous peoples in the USSR. For many years, he has been the official spokesman of indigenous peoples of Siberia. During his visit to IWGIA we discussed the situation of the different indigenous peoples in the Soviet Union. He also explained their plan to create a nationwide umbrella organisation for the so-called "Small Peoples of the North", later that year. During his visit, agreements were made for IWGIA to regularly publish on issues about indigenous groups from the USSR.

Jevdokija Gajer, member of the Peoples Congress in Moscow, together with members from IWGIA met at the Greenlandic Home Rule Office in Copenhagen, and discussed the concept of Greenlandic Home Rule. She is supportive of the new indigenous move in the USSR to gather different ethnic groups together under an umbrella organisation.

Central America. *Rodolfo Stavenhagen,* from Mexico, is an internationally well-known anthropologist who has been supporting indigenous rights during many years. He visited IWGIA during a European lecture tour on Human Rights in Latin America. We discussed future co-publications, as well as

Davi Yanomami Kopenawa on his first visit to IWGIA Secretariat in Copenhagen meeting the press together with CCPY's Claudia Andujar. (Photo: Filomenita Mongaya Høgsholm, IWGIA.)

IWGIA's possibilities to co-operate on the "Ethnic Minority Project" which is a database based in Mexico and dealing with information on indigenous peoples all over the world.

South America. *Evaristo Nugkuag*, President of the Coordinating Committee of Indigenous Organisations from the Amazon Basin (COICA), visited IWGIA in order to discuss the current situation in the Amazon and the threats Amazonian Indians are facing due, mainly, to governmental or government-supported development programmes on the extraction of natural resources. Furthermore, COICA and IWGIA discussed a land-titling project which is being implemented in the central Peruvian jungle. The project is co-ordinated jointly by AIDESEP and IWGIA.

Davi Kopenawa Yanomami is a well-known Yanomami leader, internationally. Accompanied by Claudia Andujar, the International Co-ordinator of the Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park (CCPY), Davi Yanomami visited IWGIA's International Secretariat in Copenhagen for the first time this year. Both came to Copenhagen after the participation of Davi Yanomami in the Sixth General Assembly of the International Council for Indigenous Peoples held in Tromsø, Norway in August.

South-East Asia. Dr *Em Marta*, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Karen National Union, as well as Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Democratic Alliance of Burma, visited IWGIA in the course of his visit to Europe where he participated at the sessions of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations. During the discussions at IWGIA, Dr. Em Marta stressed the serious consequences which governmental timber concessions on *Karen* and *Kachin* territories have for the indigenous peoples of the region. The Burmese military are also engaged directly in the logging business to procure the necessary financing for continuing the civil war against the indigenous peoples of the country.

The oppression of the indigenous peoples of Burma by state military and police forces, which includes killing, shooting, looting, raping of women, and restriction of movements, have forced thousands of persons to flee to the bordering country of Thailand. Dr. Em Marta, will participate at the UN Human Rights Commission at the beginning of next year in Geneva, under IWGIA auspices, where, once again, he will put forward the situation and the demands of the indigenous peoples from Burma.

South Asia. *Dr. N.K.Nayak*, is a co-ordinator of the National Institute of Social Work and Social Sciences (NISWASS) in Bhubaneswar, Orissa, India. He belongs to the *Kondh* people. He visited IWGIA in order to inform us about the situation of the more than 50 ethnic groups in Orissa. Agreements on information exchange between the two organisations were made.

East Asia. From Tibet, *Lhakpa Tsering, Mr. Sangyal*, and *Dhukar Tsering*, Tibetans on exile in India visited the International Secretariat during their visit to Europe to inform on the situation of the Tibetan people. The Tibetan representatives explained that conditions in Tibet today are far more critical than during the cultural revolution. Population transfers are increasing and the Tibetan people are becoming a minority in their own land. Furthermore, the Chinese so-called "Family planning Policy" which has drastically reduced birth permits to the Tibetan women, is having devastating effects on the Tibetan people.

5. NETWORKING TRIPS

An important way by which IWGIA obtains first-hand information on indigenous issues as well as strengthen its relations with indigenous groups and organisations, is through networking trips. These trips are scheduled annually for the two Executive Directors to different regions, in order to provide them with the necessary background information to deal with indigenous issues at different levels. First of all, at the level of documentation and publication; as is known, IWGIA sends its publications free of charge to indigenous organisations and groups. In addition, an increasing part of IWGIA's documentation is being written by indigenous leaders from all over the world.

The networking trips are also useful in getting acquainted with, and in obtaining information on, the situation of indigenous peoples upon which IWGIA's support activities and development work is based. Thirdly, they are a means of helping indigenous groups and organisations who wish to participate at international meetings, for instance at the United Nations and at the European Parliament. Finally, the networking trips are also necessary in order to share experiences between IWGIA and the organized movement of the indigenous world which is fighting for their rights and self-determination.

As in previous years, there were two networking trips scheduled for 1990, one of them to south and west India and the other one to South America. Unfortunately, and due to lack of funds, the visit to India had to be cancelled. However, that will be one of the priorities in the future. Between the months of June and July, Teresa Aparicio visited several indigenous groups and organisations in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Brazil.

In Bolivia she visited the Co-ordinating body of Indigenous Peoples' from Western Bolivia (CIDOB). And later on, accompanied by CIDOB leaders, she also visited several indigenous communities of *Guaranis, Ayoreos,* and *Chiquitanos,* of the region. In Ecuador, it was the first time that an IWGIA member visited the *Shuar* Federation which is very well-known throughout South America, especially for its radio-education programme which reaches all Amazonian Indian groups affiliated to the Federation. In the small aircraft of the Federation, and accompanied by the President of the Shuar Federation, IWGIA's representative made several visits to different *Shuar* and *Achuar* communities. In Brazil, the main visit was to the *Xavante* people, in the Matto Grosso region. Afterwards, meetings were held with representatives of the *Surui* people and the *Tukano* nation and their respective organizations. A visit to the Tukano people in northern Brazil, had to be cancelled because of the heavy militarisation of the area making the trip to the communities unsafe.

6. CONFERENCES

There were two main international indigenous conferences held during 1990. The 6th General Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) was held in August, in the town of Tromsø, Norway. The Second International Indigenous Women's Conference, was held one week earlier in Karasjokka, a small Saami town some 500 kms from Tromsø. The agenda of the two Conferences had some similarities. The WCIP Conference dealt with two major issues: 1) The 1992 celebrations planned by the Europeans and Euro-Americans, and 2) Environmental issues. The working title of the Indigenous Women's Conference was "The World Environmental Crisis and Perspectives on Sustainable Development", issues which were examined from the perspective of indigenous women. Georg Henriksen, IWGIA's vice-President participated at the WCIP Conference, and Teresa Aparicio attended the Second International Indigenous Women's gathering. Reports on both Conferences are being published in IWGIA Yearbook for 1990.

In the last days of March 1990, the indigenous peoples of the Soviet Union held a Congress in the Kremlin in Moscow. They came from the Arctic

Participants in the First Congress of "Small Peoples of the Soviet North" -with Yuri Ryhtheu at utmost right in picture- held in Moscow from 30 - 31 March 1990. (Photo: Jens Dahl, IWGIA)

and Sub-Arctic regions, their homelands stretching from the Kola Peninsula in the west to the Bering Strait in the east. The meeting resulted in the establishment of the First National Association of Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet Union. During the sessions of the Congress, indigenous delegates expounded on the destruction of their homelands in the Arctic and Sub-Arctic regions; they demanded control of the land and return of land management to indigenous peoples. Jens Dahl participated in this historical event on behalf of IWGIA.

In order to document this indigenous milestone and to make it widely known to indigenous peoples all over the world, as well as to governments, NGOs, and support institutions, IWGIA embarked on translating, editing and publishing the proceedings of the Indigenous Congress in Moscow, only three months later. IWGIA **Document No.67**, "Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North", was introduced during the sessions of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, in Geneva, Switzerland in late July. It was later published in Spanish as **Documento no. 12**, "Pueblos Indigenas del Norte Sovietico."

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was held in the month of June, in Copenhagen. All Foreign Ministers from Europe, except Albania, as well as Ministers from Canada, USA, and the Soviet Union, gathered in the Danish capital, and as a part of the CSCE Conference, they discussed the Human Dimension within the framework of

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the Conference. European NGOs organized parallel activities during the Conference. IWGIA, in co-operation with the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) held four activities under the common title of **Indigenous Rights**:

1) the Danish premiere of the Canadian film "Where the Spirit Lives";
2) a seminar on indigenous peoples and the increasing militarisation in the Arctic regions;
3) a seminar on the indigenous peoples' rights to use living resources versus the Euro-American opposition to the use of those resources; and
4) the Danish premiere of **Tupilak**, a theatre act performed by the Greenlandic theatre group **Silamiut**.

The end statements from the two seminars have been published in IWGIA's **Newsletter 60/61**, and in **IWGIA Boletin No. 10, vol. 1/2,** both from September 1990.

From IWGIA, Jens Dahl and members of the Danish Arctic group, in co-operation with ICC leaders, co-operated on the above activities which was co-ordinated by anthropologist Mads Fægteborg of the Arctic Information Centre.

IWGIA participated also this year at the meeting of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) between July and August, at the UN Headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. From this year on, the WGIP has

Panelists during the ICC-IWGIA sponsored Seminar on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples to their own Resources during the CSCE Copenhagen meeting in June 1990. (Photo: Filomenita Mongaya Høgsholm, IWGIA)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

extended its usual one week session to two weeks. It was done in order for the Working Group to speed up the process of drafting the Declaration on the Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Jens Dahl from the International Secretariat in Copenhagen, and Andrew Gray from London participated at the meetings. For the first time, the indigenous peoples of the USSR attended the WGIP; the representative was *Vladimir Sangi*, the first President of the newly-established **Association of the Small Peoples of the Soviet North**. An IWGIA report on the WGIP meeting will also be published in IWGIA's Yearbook 1990.

Indigenous Survival International (ISI) held its annual meeting during the last days of August, in Anchorage, Alaska. Jens Dahl represented IWGIA at the meeting where one of the main issues discussed was fur- and trapping indigenous activities versus environmental organisations. The programmes opposing indigenous hunting and trapping rights coming from environmental NGOs from Europe and the Northern Hemisphere, were closely examined. Hemmo Muntingh, a socialist member of the European Parliament, outlined the differences between Northern Europe where the environmental organisations are strong, and Southern Europe where hunting organisations are much more influential than environmental organisations. The opposition between indigenous peoples fighting for their hunting and trapping rights, and those who oppose those rights, were clearly expressed by the participant *Vernita Cassidy* from Alaska. Indigenous people, Vernita Cassidy said, will never be able to satisfy the Environmental and Animal Rights Movement as long as animal rights have precedence over Native Rights.

The UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as **ECO '92**, is scheduled to be held in June 1992 in Brazil. The aim of the Conference is to adopt an Earth Charter stating a set of basic principles for the conduct of nations and peoples in relation to environmental and development issues. The Conference does not include the full participation of indigenous nations nor that of NGOs. According to the UNCED, the NGOs will not have any negotiating role either at the UNCED Preparatory Committee, or at the Conference itself. The role of the NGOs has been reduced by the UNCED to the possibility of presenting written statements in the preparatory process of the Conference. In connection herewith, a co-ordination of European NGOs with regional groups of NGOs, is already in progress. During 1990, a Nordic co-ordination meeting was held in Stockholm, followed by a larger meeting in Copenhagen among NGOs of the EEC region. Claus Oreskov, from IWGIA National Group in Denmark, participated at both meetings.

7. PUBLICATIONS

All IWGIA publications are sent free of charge to indigenous groups and organisations all over the world. In addition, free copies of the publications are also sent to governments, financial bodies, and international institutions dealing with indigenous issues. IWGIA also has exchange agreements with a large number of NGOs and support organizations in many countries.

The English-language **Newsletters** and the Spanish-language **Boletines** are compiled, edited, and processed at the IWGIA Secretariat, whereas the **Documents** series are written especially for IWGIA by leading social scientists who, in that way, make a valuable contribution to IWGIA's publications. One of IWGIA's achievements in 1990 has been the publishing of a Spanish-language **Anuario** (yearbook) for the first time - an objective IWGIA has been pursuing since the first IWGIA Yearbook was published in 1986. It is positive to note that increasingly, indigenous leaders are contributing to IWGIA publications, and their writings are an essential part of IWGIA's documentation work.

IWGIA's publications are the backbone of IWGIA's work and as such, all efforts are directed towards strengthening our research and documentation activities, as well as the production process, which are at the basis of all of our publications. Due to economic reasons, part of the 1989 output were published at the beginning of 1990. In this way, IWGIA has been able to keep up with all scheduled publications in 1989, as well as in 1990.

Nos. 60/61 (double issue), and No. 62 of the **IWGIA Newsletter** were published together with Volume 10 of the Spanish **Boletines.** The volume was published in two double issues, Nos. 1/2 and 3/4. During 1990 we began simultaneous English and Spanish editions of the Newsletters and Boletines. Aside from these, five **Documents** -two of them bilingual editions in English and Spanish- and the first **Yearbook/Anuario** in both languages, were also published. The three new IWGIA Documents deal with indigenous issues in the Pacific, in the Soviet Union, as well as with indigenous women issues in different regions.

Document No. 65 "People in Between" by *Daniela Renner*, deals with a so-called "development project" in Madang Province, Papua New Guinea -an area of tropical rainforest. In contrast to other areas of tropical rainforest, land and resources are incorporated into the law of the country; and these land and natural resources belong to the indigenous peoples. However, factors like ethnic diversity and cultural values are seldom taken into consideration by the planners of such "development projects". Daniela Renner examines the consequences of the Kumil Timber Project for the indigenous peoples affected by the project.

"Indigenous Women on the Move" is the title of **Document No. 66**, also published in Spanish as **Documento No. 11**. It is an IWGIA-compiled Document written by indigenous women from South America, Asia, Australia, USA, Canada, Samiland (Europe), and the Arctic region. In their articles, the indigenous women show their different realities in their different areas of the world. The writings of the contributors show that despite their differences, indigenous women share a common situation: that of being the object of a threefold oppression: the oppression by gender which is shared by all women in a fundamentally patriarchal world, the oppression by class experienced by the rural and urban poor, and finally the ethnic oppression directed to them as members of indigenous nations. Indigenous women react differently against these three types of oppression and in their articles they explain how they organise themselves, how they fight, and how they are succeeding to establish their presence at all levels in the society, in short, how indigenous women are on the move.

The establishment of the first indigenous organisation ever in the Soviet Union is documented in IWGIA **Documents No. 67** in English, and **Documento No. 12** in Spanish. In the last few days of March 1990, indigenous peoples from the Arctic and Sub-Arctic regions of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, met in the Kremlin to establish their first National Association. IWGIA's Documents deal with this historical meeting and the establishment of the "association of the Small Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North".

8. WORKING PROGRAMMES

In addition to the documentation and publication activities which, as mentioned above, are the main and most important tasks of our organisation, IWGIA has three working programmes which relate to IWGIA publications at different levels. These programmes deal with human rights, with development, and with research. The objective of these mutually interdependent programmes is to support indigenous peoples from different angles.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission on location in the hill tracts, heretofore an unprecedented opportunity for a fact-finding mission in a hevaily militarised area. P(hoto: Teresa Aparicio, IWGIA)

8.1 Human rights

Commissions & Hearings

In co-ordination with the Bangladesh International Action Group (BIAG), IWGIA has been co-ordinating the establishment of an independent Commission to investigate human rights violations in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh since 1985. The Commission was finally established in 1989, and in 1990, permits were granted and BIAG and IWGIA obtained the necessary funding.

The Commission travelled between the months of November and December to India and to Bangladesh. First, visits were made to the refugee camps in Tripura (India), where indigenous people from the CHT have fled to the last ten years. Afterwards, the Commission travelled to the Chittagong Hill Tracts. This is the first time that the Bangladesh Government has granted free and unrestricted travelling throughout the Chittagong Hill Tracts to an independent Human Rights Commission.

Andrew Gray and Teresa Aparicio from the International Board of IWGIA, joined the Commission as resource persons. The launching of the Commission's report is scheduled for May 1991. Wolfgang Mey, the author of **IWGIA Document no. 51**: "Genocide in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh" (1984), who also accompanied the Commission, will write a full report of his findings for the IWGIA Document series.

Human Rights Fund

The Human Rights Fund is formed by five European NGOs, including IWGIA. The Fund has been working since 1985. Its main task is to raise funds to make possible the participation of indigenous people at the annual sessions of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, in Geneva. Church Aid institutions in Scandinavia have been particularly helpful in providing funds for the presence of indigenous representatives at the United Nations.

During 1990, the Fund was able to support 16 indigenous representatives from different countries. From Asia came indigenous leaders from the Philippines, Burma, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. From South America there were representatives from Peru, Chile, Ecuador, and Bolivia. An Indian Maya leader came from Belize, in Central America. Furthermore, financial contributions were given to representatives of the Cree and Mohawk people from Canada.

Finally, the Fund was also able to support the participation of *Sanghi Wladimir Michailowittsch,* the President of the newly-established Association of the Small Peoples of the Soviet North. This was the first time that indigenous peoples from the Soviet Union attended the UN Working Group.

Actions

Mali (West Africa). IWGIA reported in **Newsletter 62**, and in **Boletin no. 10, vol.3/4**, how governmental troops have repressed and massacred

Tuareg pastoralists in north-eastern Mali and Niger during the month of September. While the incidents have included Tuareg attacks on the military forces, the response has been retaliation against innocent civilians including children, women and old people. The massacres followed a more or less forced relocation of thousands of Tuaregs who had been illegal residents of Algeria and Libya early in 1990. In Niger, the dead were estimated to be between 600 and 1 700 while in Mali, 277 Tuaregs were estimated to have been killed.

In this connection IWGIA sent a cable to the President of the Republic of Mali, President Moussa Traori and President Ali Saibou of the Republic of Niger, urgently requesting their respective governments to investigate and immediately stop the killings of the Tuareg people, as well as to negotiate with them for proper rehabilitation of their returning migrants such that human rights standards are ensured and giving them the foreign aid intended for them.

Canada. On September 27, 11 weeks of armed confrontation between the *Mohawk* people and the Canadian army and police came to an end. Since July 11, the communities of Kanesatake and Kahnawake had been deprived of food in varying degrees, as a means of coercing the Mohawks to give up their lands for governmental so-called development programmes. This confrontation was the turning point of years of repression, it made that repression visible and it forced all involved parties to take a position on the conflict. The situation of the Mohawk people was brought up at the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, as well as before the European Parliament. IWGIA has since followed the issue and supported the demands of the Mohawk people. An extensive report has been published in our December publications. In addition, cables were sent to the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Brian Mulroney, requesting, first, for an immediate withdrawal of troops from the Mohawk territories, and afterwards, to initiate peaceful negotiations with the Mohawk people.

8.2 Development work

From 1987 to 1990, IWGIA has had a work contract with the Norwegian State Agency for Development Aid (NORAD), as advisers on indigenous issues and development projects. This work was based on NORAD's aid programme on indigenous peoples which, up to now, was the only governmental programme specifically aimed at indigenous peoples throughout Scandinavia. Meanwhile, and due to changes in NORAD's structure, the indigenous programme has been temporarily stopped. Therefore, only ongoing projects have received continued financing, and no new ones could be processed.

The programme will be re-opened in 1991 under the auspices of other Norwegian institutions. However, NORAD will still be the funding institution, and it is expected that IWGIA will continue its advisory role to NORAD.

A large number of indigenous projects have reached IWGIA throughout the year. Unfortunately, with very few exceptions, we have not been able to channel them further. A small funding institution in Denmark, *Solhverv Fonden*, has contributed to two indigenous projects located in the Philippines and South America, respectively. Furthermore, and for the first time, the Finnish State Agency for Development Aid (FINNIDA) has financed through IWGIA, community-based development projects in Brazil and in the Philippines, respectively. It is IWGIA's hope that FINNIDA will go on supporting indigenous peoples in the future.

IWGIA's development work during 1990 has concentrated mainly on one particular project. The project deals with the land-titling of indigenous communities in the central Peruvian jungle. The Project is wholly financed by the Danish State Agency for Development Aid (DANIDA). It is a three-year project with a total budget of approximately one million US dollars. The Project is being co-ordinated jointly by the Inter-Ethnic Development Association of the Peruvian jungle (AIDESEP) and IWGIA.

The Project is being implemented in a heavily militarised border region with active para-military groups, and an increasing traffic in narcotics. However, the main threats to the Project come from the local economic elite with strong economic interests in the region. AIDESEP and IWGIA has jointly undertaken a mid-term evaluation of the Project. The main conclusion of the evaluation is that the Project is working effectively, and the objectives of the land-titling have been largely accomplished.

It goes without saying that the project has had difficulties and shortcomings; these, however, should be viewed within the framework of a pioneering work within land-rights and indigenous peoples. It is namely the first time than an indigenous organisation in South America has succeeded in co-ordinating a land-titling project of such a magnitude.

8.3 Research programme

The research programme is composed of three different projects: a resource centre, a research project, and an indigenous women's programme.

Resource Centre. The Resource Centre provides research facilities on different indigenous issues for scholars, researchers, and the general public. The documentation material of the Resource Centre deals with indigenous peoples throughout the world. It includes, for instance, general works on indigenous peoples, studies on their actual situation, Newsletters produced by indigenous peoples themselves and their support organizations, as well as occasional papers and the proceedings of conferences and seminars dealing with indigenous issues. In addition, the Centre has received several important documentation sent by indigenous organisations and support institutions. Likewise, the video collection of IWGIA has been augmented during 1990; now we have about 50 different videos from different parts of the world.

IWGIA continues to be the information centre of the International Information Network on the Chittagong Hill Tracts which regularly provides

CHT support groups with relevant information on the situation of the indigenous peoples in the hill tracts.

Research project. This research Project deals with the concepts of self-determination, development, and indigenous peoples. The aim of the Project is to contribute to development theory through the analysis of indigenous peoples' political and cultural manifestations in the fields of land-rights, ethnic identity, and political systems. The Project includes both indigenous and non-indigenous research. In connection with IWGIA's research project, both Jens Dahl and Teresa Aparicio from the International Secretariat will have sabbatical leaves from IWGIA. Jens Dahl will be away from IWGIA in November/December 1991, and Teresa Aparicio will participate in the research Project between June/91 and October/92.

Indigenous Women's Programme. The first volume on indigenous women was published in connection with the Second International Indigenous Women's Conference, held in Norway in August 1991. This first volume represents the efforts of three years of work where IWGIA got in touch with indigenous women and their organisations all over the world in order to get their contributions. IWGIA supported the Second Women's Conference during its preparatory phases. To this effect, IWGIA engaged Ann Fenger Benwell, student of Anthropology, who provided logistical support to the Co-ordinators of the Women's Conference for three months. Furthermore, during

The Second Women's International Indigenous Women's Conference was held in Karasjok in August 1990, hosted by Saami women spearheaded by the organization Sarakkha. Photo: Filomenita Mongaya Høgsholm, IWGIA.

1990 we have started an archive and filing project on indigenous women's issues in IWGIA's library. Due to lack of funds, however, this project is proceeding slowly. The commitment and volunteer work of Patricia Jorquera has made possible setting up this new card index.

9. CONCLUSIONS AND THE WORK AHEAD

The work and activities of IWGIA have increased in several aspects, and we have been able to accomplish some of the objectives we have been working on for a long time.

During 1990, IWGIA has been present at more Conferences and Seminars than in previous years, and has also co-ordinated some international seminars on indigenous issues.

Within the Human Rights programme, IWGIA has been closely following the aggressive policies of the Canadian government towards the Mohawk nation, as well as the massacres of hundreds of Tuaregs in West Africa by governmental military troops from Mali and Niger. IWGIA has protested to the authorities of the two Governments for violating the basic human rights of these indigenous nations. It is appalling to find that indigenous peoples today are still being prosecuted and grossly harassed, even by Western democratic governments such as Canada.

The Independent Commission to investigate human rights violations in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, towards which, IWGIA together with BIAG, has dedicated great efforts during the last few years, has finally succeeded in obtaining the necessary permits and enough funding to get started. In December, members of IWGIA accompanied the Commission as a part of IWGIA's human rights activities and publication work on the CHT.

Another issue which has also been one of IWGIA's main tasks during 1990 has been the project on the land-titling of over 90 indigenous communities in the Peruvian jungle which AIDESEP and IWGIA are co-ordinating jointly. Both organizations undertook a joint mid-term evaluation of the project, which, though started at the end of the year, first crystallised in January 1991. This project is proving to be one of the most important development activities within the area of land rights and indigenous peoples throughout South America.

In connection with IWGIA's publications, we have been able to publish all the publications scheduled for 1990 in both English and Spanish. However, some of them were delayed partly due to economic reasons but also due to the introduction of new technology at IWGIA. One of the major achievements in this connection has been the publication, for the first time, of a Yearbook in Spanish, an objective we have been striving for since IWGIA published its first Yearbook in 1986.

The activities scheduled for 1991 are many, and these deal with different indigenous topics in many different countries. Our publication schedule includes Documents on indigenous peoples in South America (Brazil), in Asia (CHT), in New Zealand, and in Africa. IWGIA has planned a seminar on Africa with the participation of indigenous and non-indigenous researchers, for 1992. On-going programmes and Conferences wil continue, most especially the co-ordination of activities for the 500 Years or Fifth Centenary of the European invasion of the Americas, as well as for the next CSCE Conference to be held in Moscow, and for the parailel activities relating to ECO 92.

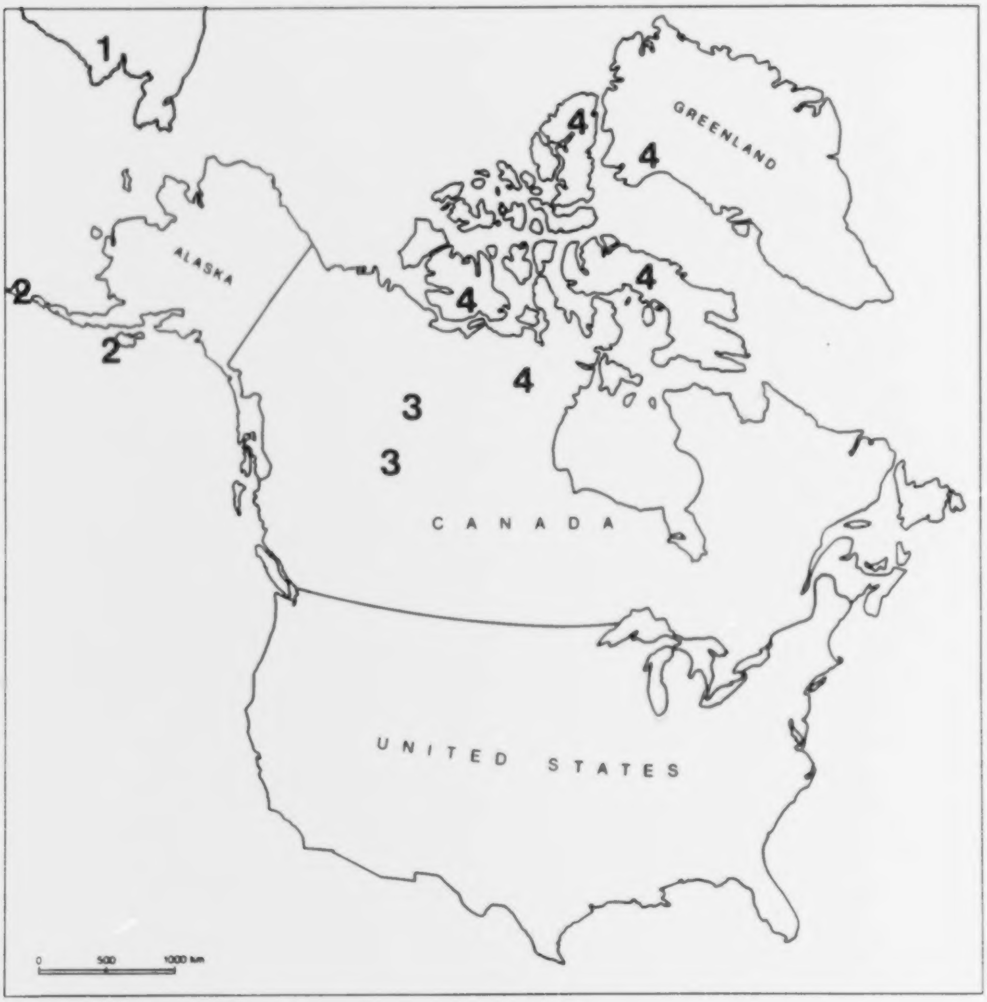
In order to be able to carry on with these and other human rights activities, IWGIA needs the support of our financial contributors. It is therefore our hope that IWGIA's commitment to the indigenous cause will continue to have the necessary economic resources so as to make our work possible.

35

Indigenous World

36

Map of the Arctic



Indigenous Populatio: 100,000 Inuit

1. *Chukchee/eskimos*
2. *Aleut*
3. *Dene/Metis*
4. *Inuit*

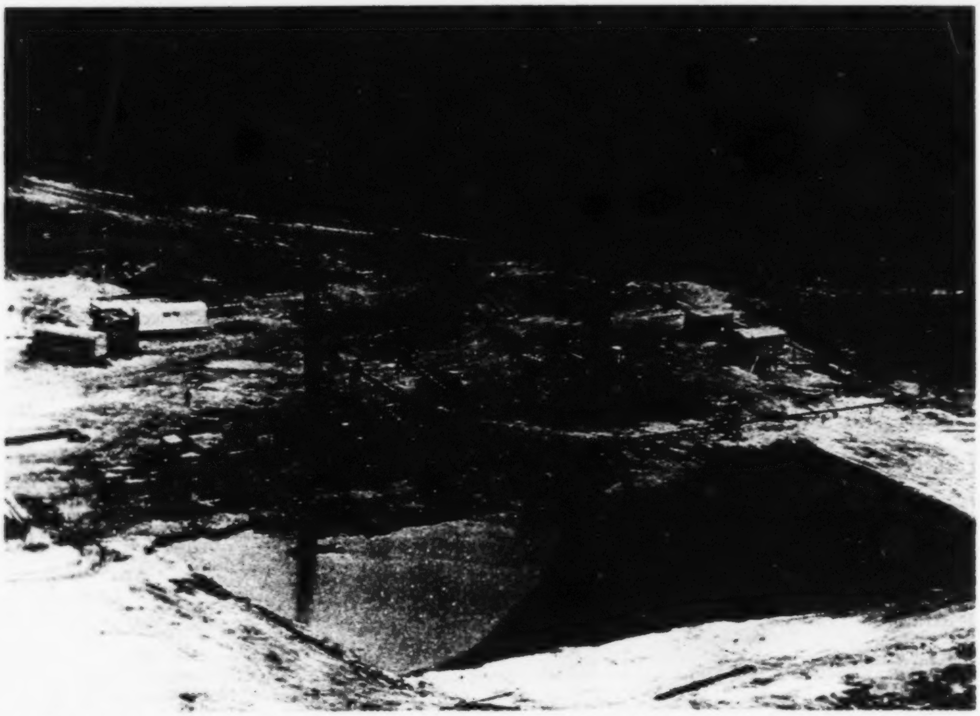
THE ARCTIC

Indigenous people of the Arctic are very diverse, yet they face many similar problems. Among these is the destruction of the environment. These people are, first of all, hunters, trappers, herders and fishermen who rely on the sea, the tundra, the taiga and the forest to make a living.

It is *they* who suffer from the Exxon Valdez oil-slip in Alaska, from nuclear testing at Novaya Zemlja and from gas exploitation for delivering gas to Western Europe from Yamal Peninsula, Soviet Union. They *have* to protect their environment against uncontrolled encroachment from outside. Some indigenous groups therefore claim control of the land, want to have a say in the political decision-making process and to have their aboriginal rights recognised by the national and world societies.

In the Soviet Union and United States, concerned scientists have proposed the setting up of an international park in the Bering Strait area between North America and Asia, in order to protect this unique cultural and natural region.

However, not far from this area lies the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge where plans to open up for oil and gas exploration have given rise to a heated debate between developers and conservationists. To cope with these problems, the efforts by organisations such as Indigenous Survival



Indigenous people in the Arctic are very diverse but face similar problems, among them the destruction of the environment. Photo shows the exploitation of hydrocarbons in Nenets territory. (Photo: Alexander Pica)

International (ISI) and Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) are more essential than ever. This was also the theme of a symposium held under the parallel activities of the so-called CSCE-conference (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) on the Human Dimension held in Copenhagen in June. Two seminars were organised by ICC and IWGIA.

Environmental and animal rights groups' campaigns against trapping and hunting of marine mammals continue to be a most serious threat against all indigenous cultures of the Arctic and the Subarctic. It is the aim of organisations like ISI and ICC to obtain world-wide recognition of indigenous peoples' right to pursue a sustainable harvesting of animals of which they have been dependent since time immemorial.

It was therefore very good news that The International Union for

The originator of the idea to hold the First Congress of Indigenous Peoples in the Soviet North held in Moscow in March 1990 Vladimir Sanghi, was himself elected as the orgnizations first President. (Photo: Jens Dahl, IWGIA)

Conservation of Nature (IUCN) at its general assembly in Perth, Australia, in December adopted a resolution in support of the use of wildlife and the trade of wildlife products, provided that this is done on a sustainable basis. As an umbrella organisation, IUCN includes several environmental organisations, among others Greenpeace. The resolution was adopted without dissent, and as such it is an international recognition of the right of Arctic hunters to pursue their old traditions.

In the Arctic, one can not talk about problems without mentioning the dismal social conditions. Alcoholism is so severe that "the consumption of fish to vodka is one fish to two bottles of vodka", as expressed by an indigenous person from USSR. From some areas come reports of an alarming rate of children born with alcohol-affected problems, "The Fetal Alcohol Syndrome".

The number of suicides and murders is far above the rate in other societies. On New Year's day 1990, Greenland woke up to the news of 7 sleeping men and women, killed by a friend. This was followed by several other murders in the first months of the year, and gave rise to a renewed debate on alcohol, in which not even the most prominent politicians escaped unscathed.

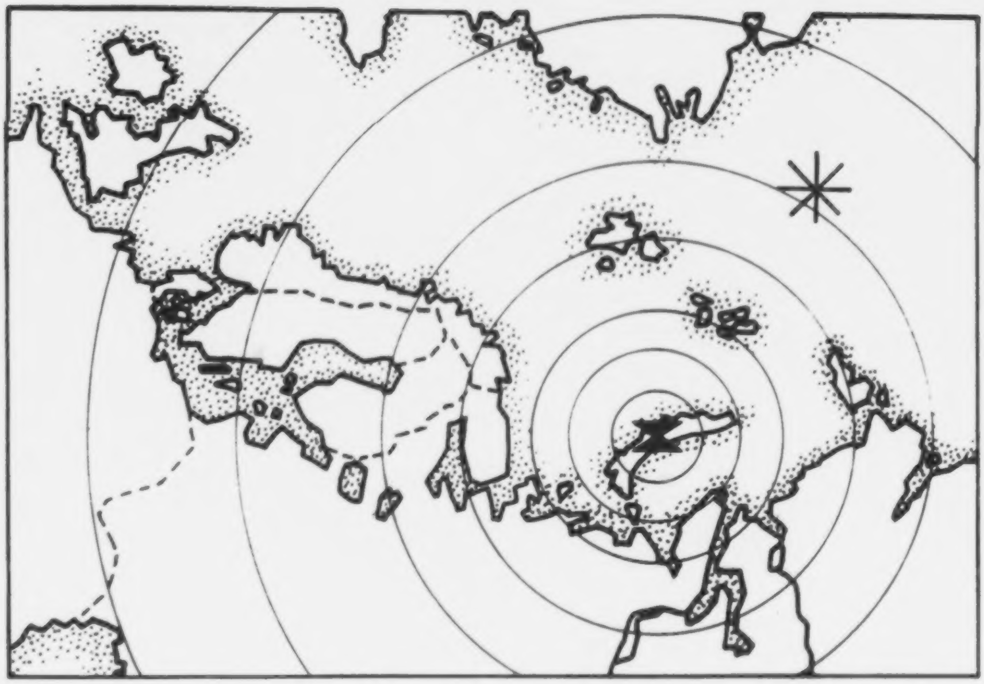
Unfortunately, we have to conclude this section with a mention of the fact that AIDS has been ascertained in the Arctic at a rate comparable to that found in the Euro-American societies.

The Soviet North. During the last days of March this year indigenous peoples of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic established their first national Association, *Small Peoples of the North* (see **IWGIA Document 67.**). A founding congress was convened by the 26 so-called "Small Peoples of the Soviet North and Far East", a term which came into use as early as the 1920s and 1930s. Since then, these people have been treated as distinct, and special ordinances have been applied to them. They are the small indigenous peoples of the European and Siberian North and Far East.

More than 350 delegates and observers representing 35 nationalities from all over the Russian Republic were assembled in the Kremlin. Indigenous peoples from "the 26" were represented according to their numbers. Those indigenous groups "which were removed from the history books during the Stalin era" had been allowed to send observers.

The goal of this first Congress of indigenous peoples in the history of the Soviet Union was to establish an indigenous association and to adopt statutes and a programme. Elected as the first president of the Association of Small Peoples of the Soviet North was the *Nivkh* writer Vladimir Sangi, who also originated the idea of such an organisation.

The formation of this association signifies that indigenous people of the Soviet Union, for the first time in history, have obtained the opportunity to speak on their own behalf in a national setting. However, to gain support for carrying out their aims, they are also looking for help from outside the Soviet Union, specifically in the Arctic. Among their aims is to have the USSR to sign and ratify the ILO Convention 169, the "Convention Concerning



Map of polar region highlighting Novaya Zemlya, site of Soviet nuclear testing which has consequences beyond USSR borders. (map: Jørgen Reventlow Bach)

Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries".

In July-August, the newly elected president Vladimir Sangi represented the association at the United Nation's Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva. It was the first time that indigenous peoples of the Soviet Union could send their own elected representative to an official international meeting abroad. It was also the first time that an official USSR delegation took part in the meeting of the Working Group, headed by Yevdokiya Gayer, indigenous member of the Supreme Soviet.

The problems of indigenous peoples of the vast Arctic tundra and Subartic forest regions are severe and acute due to cultural destruction, environmental degradation, pollution and industrial development. The expansion of oil- and gas development on Yamal Peninsula seems to continue in spite of protests from scientists and indigenous peoples (see **IWGIA Yearbook** 1989) and on Novaya Zemlya, a nuclear testing was carried out despite protests from many sides. Frustrated by the destructive effects of oil exploration to human beings and reindeers, a group of *Khants* and *Nenets* from the Varyegan branch of the Association of the Peoples of the North on October 1 made a blockade on the road from the city of Raduzhny to the Zapadny Varyegan oil field.

Far away from Moscow, in the North and in the Far East, several indigenous groups have acted on their own behalf and established local types of self-government.

A reservation which will be made up of *Khanti* and *Mansi* settlements is being set up in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area in oil-rich Western Siberia. A third of the autonomous area's territory (100 000 km^2) has been declared a reservation. The industrial development of natural resources, the felling of wood, and the building of new industrial enterprises and settlements on this territory will be stopped. Priority is to be given to the traditional crafts, hunting and fishing. This initiative follows a resolution in the USSR Supreme Soviet which recommends that land which has traditionally been used by the indigenous people and which cannot be taken away for industrial development be transferred to the indigenous people.

In the Yakut Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic the first national territory in the Arctic has been established. The Even National Territory amounts to 55 600 square kilometers, inhabited by 2 700 indigenous *Evens*. The area *soviet* has granted the new territory sole and exclusive right to use this territory and all industrial development has been suspended.

The world-wide political change and détente is now being felt in **Greenland** too. In 1989 the Greenland *Inuit* could celebrate 10 years of national self-government, or Home Rule. The Greenlanders themselves are now in control of all matters concerning education, economy, culture, land use, national political matters, etc. The Home Rule Government and the central bureaucracy in the capital of Nuuk have exercised a firm control of the economy by public control of trade, trawlers, fish-processing plants, infrastructure, etc,. This process is now being radically changed to allow the economy to develop on market conditions.

An outcome of letting market conditions reign has been the abolishing of one of the main political ambitions promoted by the ruling Siumut party. Since the introduction of Home Rule in 1979 the Greenlandic government has favoured a decentralised settlement policy - a policy to the advantage of many hunters and fishermen. It is to be expected that a consequence of abolishing the economic advantages given to villages and settlements (in commodity prices, transport costs, investments, etc,.) will accelerate the urbanisation process.

The economy of self-governing Greenland has been strained by several factors during the last year. In July the last lead and zinc was shipped from the Black Angel Mine at Maarmorilik, until then Greenland's only active mining venture. On this background the Home Rule Government has announced a more open policy towards oil, gas and mineral exploration.

For many years Greenland was a central part in the chain of defence installations protecting the Western Hemisphere. This is no longer so, and USA has announced a gradual military withdrawal. The Distance Early Warning radar stations are being closed down, as is the main entrance to Greenland, the military/public airport at Sondre Stroemfjord. This airport - as well as other minor ones - is vital to Greenland, but the military détente now puts all the expenditures upon the small Greenlandic population.

Since Home Rule was established in 1979 the Greenlandic Government has been led by the socialist or social-democratic Siumut Party. During last year Siumut has relied on support from the conservative Atassut Party.

Following several months of severe public criticism of alleged government overspending on entertainment accounts, government leader Jonathan Motzfeldt announced elections to be held in early spring 1991. One of the most significant reforms adopted by the Greenlandic Parliament, the **landsting**, in 1990 was a final blow against the so-called "birthplace criteria" which gives a person born in Greenland a lower salary than expatriates (read: Danish). This abhorred criteria was introduced in the 1960s during Danish rule, but it took the Greenlandic government more than 10 years to get rid of it.

In **Canada**, negotiations of land claims have made some progress, although certain indigenous groups have felt serious steps backwards. In April, a land claims *agreement-in-principle* between Inuit of the Northwest Territories and the Canadian Government was finally signed in Igloolik (**IWGIA Newsletter 60/61**) and a final agreement is expected to be initialed in late 1991 or early 1992. As a last step, these agreements have to be ratified by both parties. The land claims agreement also contains a section in which the government and the Inuit call for the creation of a political separate territory, **Nunavut** (Inuit word for "our land") **Territory** headed by a Nunavut Government. The Inuit will make up the majority in this separate territory to be created before, or along with, the final agreement. The full creation of the territory is, however, expected to take several years. As mentioned in IWGIA's 1989 **Yearbook** there are boundary disputes between

Installations such as this, an early warning radar system, will be on a phase out as USA effects a gradual military withdrawal from Greenland.
(Photo: Claus Oreskov)

the *Inuit and the Dene/Metis* Indians which still remain to be solved.

Furthermore, in 1988 two other indigenous groups of the Canadian Northwest Teritories (NWT), the Dene and the Metis Indians negotiated a land claims *agreement-in-principle*. In April a final agreement was reached by negotiators from both sides, but later, in July, a majority of the Dene/Metis Assembly voted not to ratify the reached agreement. The future of the settlement is therefore uncertain, but the *Gwitch'in* Tribal Council and the *Sahtu Dene/Metis* Council in the northern part of the region have announced that they will negotiate regional claims based on April's final agreement. A similar situation developed in the late 1970s when the *Inuvialuit* split from the other Inuit of the NWT and made their own agreement with the government in Ottawa.

In the Yukon Territory, what is called an *umbrella final agreement* was reached covering more than 6 000 Indians.

In the province of Labrador the land claim process is lagging behind although the Inuit submitted their claim in 1977. This year a *Framework Agreement* was reached, but a final agreement is not expected to be ready the first couple of years.

In the province of Quebec land claims agreements were signed as early as 1975, forced by the construction of the gigantic James Bay hydroelectric project. This project has now reached phase 2 which means the building of more dams and roads and flooding of large areas of traditional indigenous territory. The James Bay *Cree* demanded that no construction should be developed before a full Environmental Assessment of the cumulative impact of the project was carried out, but the provincial government succeeded in getting the project split into two phases.

For some years the Canadian provinces and the Federal Government have negotiatiated a constitutional reform, the so-called Meech Lake Accord. Indigenous people have been excluded from this process which, if adopted in practice, would have excluded Nunavut and a future Dene/Metis territory (Denendeh) from ever becoming proper provinces. The aspirations of indigenous people were not considered in this amendment of the Canadian Constitution. However, the Meech Lake Accord, which had to be ratified by all 10 provincial legislatures, died after both Manitoba's and Newfoundland's legislatures refused to extend the sitting hours needed to ratify the accord. Elijah Harper, the *Ojibway-Cree* member of Parliament from Manitoba was a key player in the cancellation of the vote.

Another significant event in Arctic Canada was the suspension of a large uranium mining project by the German Urangesellschaft near the Inuit village of Baker Lake. The environmental impact of the proposed Kiggavik Uranium Mine could be disastrous and the suspension of further planning followed a referendum held in Baker Lake in which 397 voted against and 43 in favour of the mining project.

A main concern to the indigenous (Native) Indian, Aleut and Eskimo (Inuit) of **Alaska** has been their hunting and fishing rights. Until December 1989, when the Alaska Supreme Court ruled against it, rural Alaskans had

Larry Merculieff from Probiloff Islands addressing the ISI Annual Meeting in Anchorage in 1990 where he took up the issues of subsistence hunting and fishing, among others. (Photo: Jens Dahl)

preferential rights to subsistence hunting and -fishing. Since 1978, these rights were guaranteed by US Federal law (Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, ANILCA), but invalidated by the Alaska Supreme Court as unconstitutional according to State law. The Alaska State legislators have been under continous pressure from urban non-native residents, sport-fishermen and sport-hunters to abolish the **rural** as well as the **subsistence** preference. No act gives priority to Alaskan Natives, but the combined **rural-subsistence** preference in practice favours many Native groups.

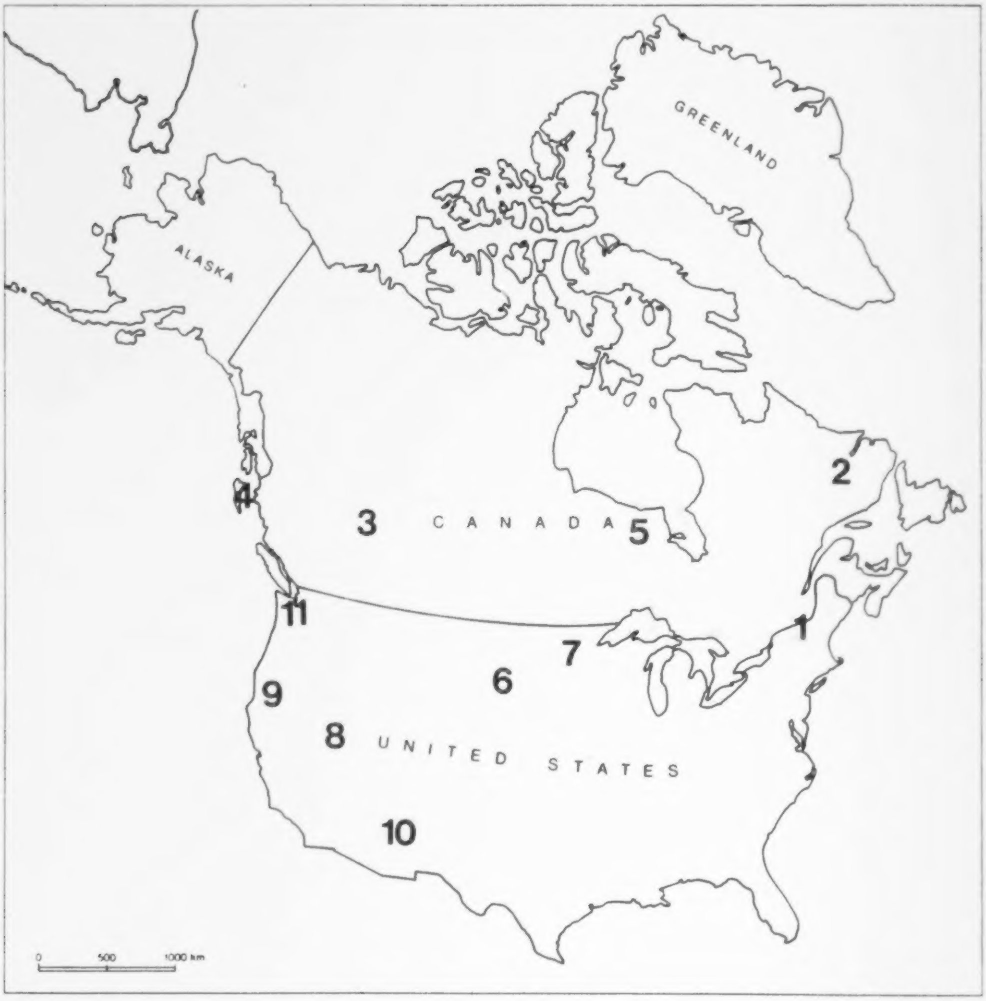
Since no final solution has been found, different rules now govern hunting and fishing on federal-, state- and Native-owned land respectively.

This confused situation has been given as explanation as to why some Native Corporations have closed their land to non-shareholders (i.e. non-Natives). One regional corporation made their land off limits to anyone other than corporation shareholders and some village corporations have made restrictions to the use of their lands.

In 1971 the US Congress, Washington, passed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. ANCSA was a land claims settlement which left the Natives with 44 million acres of land, about 11% of the State area, and a 1 billion dollar cash compensation. The act also extinguished Native Alaskan aboriginal claims to land. However, the Natives have never given up the political demand of sovereignty, and the sovereignty movement is very strong in some regions. This is the case among the *Yupik*-speaking Eskimos in Western Alaska. On 1 February, the village of Akiachak became the first in Alaska to abolish city government in favour of tribal rule. With tribal rule only Natives will be eligible for government positions. The tribal government is supposed to help the community return to a more traditional way of doing things and to promote traditional community values.

Sources: Arctic Circle; Atuagagdliutit/Grønlandsposten; Glasnost; Moscow News; Nunatsiaq News; Perestroika; Sermitsiaq; The Tundra Drums; Tundra Times; Tusaayaksat.

Map of North America



Indigenous Population: 3.5 million

1. *Haudenoshaunee/Mohawk*
2. *Innu*
3. *Lubicon Gree*
4. *Haida*
5. *Athbascan, Cree*
6. *Lakota*
7. *Anishinabe*
8. *Western Shoshone*
9. *Yurok, Karok, Tolawa*
10. *Hopi/Diné (Navajo)*
11. *Puyallup*

NORTH AMERICA

Canada

In the **1989 Yearbook** we reported on the struggle of the *Innu* against the plans to establish a Tactical Fighter and Weapons Training Centre at Goose Bay, Labrador. According to the plans, more than 150.000 km² of the hunting territory of the Innu (Nitassinan) was to be designated as a permanent testing ground for NATO for all types of conventional air and ground weapons.

After years of resistance, the *Innu* and *Inuit* of Labrador and Quebec could finally celebrate a victory: on 22 May 1990, at a NATO Defence Planning Committee meeting in Brussels, Belgium, NATO Defence Ministers decided against both Goose Bay and Konya, Turkey, as the site for the $555 million Tactical Fighter and Weapons Training Centre.

It is worth noting that some of the negative comments made by Canadian Ministers and politicans to the news of NATO's decision refer not only to "the loss of an important opportunity for Canada to make a positive contribution to the security objectives of the [NATO] alliance" (Canadian Defence Minister), but also to the economic opportunities lost to Labrador. Ostensibly comparing the lost opportunities to economic growth in the area with the small number of Innu and Inuit, the Federal Trade Minister of Canada said that he did not consider their claims to be justified or legitimate. It should also be noted that the Federal Environmental Assessment Review Panel, reviewing military flight activities in Labrador and Quebec, issued a detailed deficiency statement to the Department of National Defence for its Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). According to the deficiency statement, the EIS failed to do a comprehensive review of available literature on most of the topics addressed. Original research was not undertaken where necessary. Affected groups were not consulted. In several instances, the methodology of the EIS was called into question as unscientific and vague. The EIS also failed to present the data on which its analysis and conclusions were supposedly based. Other deficiencies concerned DND's unwillingness to specify designated target areas and their relative impacts.

After NATO's decision was made, some federal and provincial politicians are now saying that NATO's decision not to build a Training Centre at Goose Bay is a blessing in disguise, and that it's time to get on with economic diversification.

Chief Daniel Ashini of Sheshatshiu has defined four principles required for development:

> "The Innu are not against development and do not want to take jobs away from the people in Happy Valley-Goose Bay. But, the residents of the town must find alternatives to the military which do not strike at the heart of Innu hunting territory. Economic development must be environmentally safe, and must include just political negotiations between the First Nations and the federal and provincial governments. Alternatives must be economically sustainable, not short-term, get-rich-quick, economic boom-and-bust scenarios."

Finally, Chief Daniel Ashini stated that developments must be geared to the employment needs of people in the region, and not as solutions to the unemployment problems of the rest of the province or Canada.

Although NATO made the decision not to build the training centre, the low-level flying of both Canadian and Allied forces will continue on the basis of bilateral agreements. Both the federal and Newfoundland governments have stated that they will continue to promote military expansion at Goose Bay in any way they can. The federal Department of National Defence (DND) says the number of low-level flights could increase from the present level of approximately 7 500 sorties to 18 000 sorties by 1996. As well, DND wants to build a second bombing range in Innu hunting territory north-west of Goose Bay. The Innu will therefore continue their struggle against the militarization of their land.

The economic and politically unstable situation in the Soviet Union, including what is taking place in the Baltic states, and not the least the war in the Middle East, is likely to have an impact on NATO and its assessment of the international security on the global scene. This may very well lead to a renewed vigour of the NATO alliance, with a perceived need to establish a Tactical Fighter and Weapons Training Centre located within the territories of one of the allied countries.

The Innu have yet other serious issues on their agenda. One of these is the question of land claims. The Innu have never signed a treaty or agreements relinquishing any of their rights to their land. Among other things, this means that they do not even have the protection which a treaty may provide against incursions into their territory.

Another threat to their land rights is, regrettably, represented by the territorial claims put forth by the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) and the Conseil Attikamek Montagnais (CAM). The latter organization represents the Innu of the Province of Quebec. Both LIA and CAM are well into the land claims process, and may establish territorial rights which when combined would include practically the whole territory of the Innu of Nitassinan, Labrador. It would be extremely deplorable if the First Nations enter an internal struggle over territorial rights. So far, we have reasons to believe that these competing territorial claims are caused by various circumstances in the land claims process itself, and not by any ill will on the part of the LIA and CAM.

Another urgent issue on the agenda of the Innu is their right to freely hunt and fish in order to make a living off the land. As the Newfoundland wildlife regulations contain no special provisions for the First Nations, the Innu have been given quotas like any other Euro-Canadian who wishes to hunt for recreation. The unavoidable result is that the Innu are taken to trial for "illegal possession of caribou meat".

Sources: Update NATO in Labrador/Quebec, No.7 Summer 1990 and Update Nitassinan, Innu Resource Centre, Shehatshit.

Photo shows Here an EEC delegation inspecting a trapline during a fact-finding visit to Canada sponsored by ISI. (Photo: Frank Sejersen)

In the past few years hunters and trappers of North America have been trapped in European parliamentarism. Under great pressure from animal rights and animal welfare organisations, the European Economic Community, EEC, has started a discussion about the use of leg hold traps, especially in northern countries. In order to stop the use of this particular trap, the EEC has proposed a ban on the importation of furs deriving from countries that use this kind of trap. If the EEC chooses to exercise this ban, it will have a tremendous impact on the entire fur market, thus also on furs from humanely caught furbearing animals.

Due to the social, cultural and religious aspects of hunting and trapping, and its economic importance to northern communities, the actions of the EEC will have disastrous effects if their perspectives are not considered. What started as a discussion about animal welfare, and the leg hold trap specifically, has now turned into a discussion whether to wear furcoats at all - a change which is fully in line with the "No Fur" campaign run by the major lobbyist, the World Society for the Protection of Animals.

The very right of indigenous peoples to use the renewable resources of their lands and retain a market for their products, as stated in the Brundtland Report, the World Conservation Strategy and the Human Rights Conventions is now being challenged. The core of the discussion is now the exact date of implementation. If the EEC does not give adequate time to implement trap research, trap production, trap replacement and trap introduction, the lives and economies of thousands of indigenous hunters and trappers will be ruined.

In spite of numerous protests from the anti-fur lobby in the EEC, a fact-finding delegation consisting of European opinion leaders, went to Canada to learn about, and experience trapping firsthand. The tour was arranged by Indigenous Survival International and took place from 17 to 24 February 1990. Through meetings with anti-fur, animal welfare and environmental organisations, indigenous peoples, trappers, the fur industry, government representatives, scientists and wildlife managers, the delegation was able to get a more elaborate picture of the issue than offered to them in Europe.

Contrary to earlier confrontations between EEC representatives and indigenous peoples, the tour gave trappers a fair chance to show their activities in the bush and explain their perception of it.

The tour has fostered new and revised opinions in the European Parliament towards indigenous peoples and trapping. The Committee on Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection revised the date of implementation, in trying to solve the controversy on a more pragmatic and amicable level. The European Parliament then proposed that the date of implementation be brought forward by one year to 1995 with a one year period of grace instead of the original two as proposed by the Commission. However, no one knows for sure as yet, whether the Commission and the Council choose to follow this recommendation or not. They do not seem so radical in their attitudes as the European Parliament is.

In relation to all the different sections of the fur industry which have to develop and introduce new traps by the year 1995, this is not realistic. It is essential that the EEC does not push the time schedule beyond acceptable levels because of the catastrophic consequences that it might have upon the northern communities. However, seen in relation to an immediate ban, or one starting from the year 1991 as proposed by the animal rights lobby, the discussion has certainly changed direction, towards a more realistic solution that integrates the indigenous perspective.

> "If there is any single issue on which Canada cannot hold its head high in the international community, any single area in which we can be accused of falling down on our obligations, it is in this area of aboriginal relations."

(Chief Commissioner Maxwell Yalden of the Canadian Human Rights Commission)

On 27 September, 11 weeks of armed confrontation between the *Mohawks* and the Canadian military and police ended.

The drama unfolded in southern Quebec, where the county in the little town of Oka wanted to expand their golf course by 50 acres into the ancient burial places of the Mohawks in Kanesatake. For years, Canada's Indians have had to stand by and see their territory decimated. Protests have been overheard and peaceful blockades overran by armed police.

This time it turned out differently. The Mohawks barricaded their holy

An indigenous woman clutches her child after having surrendered herself to the Canadian military. (Photo: CP) burial places, and when armed police attacked the barricades on 11 July, the Mohawks defended their territory with weapons. A hefty exchange of fire ensued where a police officer was killed. The police withdrew and afterwards besieged Kanesatake.

In the nearby Mohawk reservation of Kahnawake, the main highway to Montreal was blockaded in sympathy with Kanesatake. But also here, the heavily armed Canadian police encircled the reservation. Negotiations between the Mohawks and the Canadian authorities continued to fall into an impasse. Canada seemed not to be able to figure out if the responsibility was under the state of Quebec or the Federal government. It was difficult to see who was negotiating for whom.

This strategy was calculated to mislead the Mohawks. But the Mohawks avoided falling into this trap by insisting on negotiating only with the Federal government. But it did not become easier when the state of Quebec brought in the military. Both Kanesatake and Kahnawake were surrounded by thousands of soldiers with hundreds of armed personnel carriers, tanks, helicopters and F-15 planes. Behind the barricades, people were beginning to starve. Huge groups of white racists prevented food rations from reaching the besieged. In spite of protests from the Opposition in the Canadian Parliament, and from many human rights groups all over the world, one was intent on the Quebec side on letting the Army clear the barricades.

During the negotiations, the Mohawks made it quite clear that the issue was not about the golf course alone, but on the Mohawks' right to sovereign self-determination over matters concerning them. A juridical and political recognition of Mohawk sovereignty will prevent a repetition of the golf crisis in future.

Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called the sovereignty demand as "bizarre" and the troops prepared themselves for an attack. On 29 August, the Mohawks themselves brought down the barricades at Kahnawake, and the road in to Montreal was again open. On 1 September, the army stormed Kanesatake and encircled a group of warriors and women and children ensconced in a house. At this point in time, the army expended power that in the words of Warren Allmand, opposition MP, was the domain of politicians. For example, the army will not let a negotiating delegation from the Iroquis Confederation go into the besieged Mohawks. On 27 September, the last of the warriors destroyed their weapons. When they came out, they were arrested and taken to a nearby military camp. 44 Mohawk warriors will be prosecuted for illegal possession of firearms.

There are two different versions of what happened that are valid. The one version considers the Mohawk as a sovereign nation that has never given up its sovereignty. According to this version, it is the Mohawks that the Canadian nation intends to prosecute and imprison, either politically or militarily. The other view is that the Mohawks are part and parcel of Canada, and the Mohawk warriors are criminals who can therefore be sentenced according to the Criminal Code. There is absolutely nothing that intimates that the last version is the right one. Only military and political power can sanction such in juridical terms. And if this happens -that Canada indicts the Mohawk warriors as criminals- then it will have shown the world once more that might begets right.

If one wants to help the Mohawks economically with the very expensive legal fees, one can send donations to:

Stichting Mohawk Nation Permanent delegation in Europe
(Mohawk Nation Fund)
Account 47.76.48.363,AMRO Bank
Kneuterdijk,
2514 EN, The Hague
The Netherlands

or contact:

The Mohawk Nation
Permanent delegation in Europe
Laan van Meerdervoort 192
2517 BH The Hague
The Netherlands

The Mohawk's fight for their land became a symbol for the indigenous peoples fight for land rights and sovereignty over the whole of Canada. Throughout Canada, indigenous peoples held demonstrations and blockades in solidarity with the Mohawks. In many places, one took the opportunity of calling attention to their own local problems, which illustrated that Canada's treatment of the Mohawks was not an isolated case.

In Alberta, the *Bloods* tribe and the *Blackfoot* Nation also held demonstrations. The Bloods tribe effected a 48-hour road blockade in protest against the Federal government's 28 years delay of the negotiations on the tribe's legitimate land rights claim. In Vancouver Island and in British Columbia, there were a number of roadblocks. In contrast to many other places in Canada, there is but a fragment of British Columbia which is covered by Indian treaties. This is due to Indians in the area never having given up their huge land tracts. Precisely in British Columbia occurs widespread logging to the detriment of the environment and wildlife. The many road blocks stopped for a while part of this kind of felling. *Ojibwa* Indians blocked the Trans-Canadian railroad for a few days. During the *Nuu-chah-nulth* peoples' (Vancouver) annual meeting, several models for autonomy and sovereignty were discussed. The environmental question was also debated, among others a pulp mill in the proximity of Campbell River which has been polluting the water and the fish stocks .

Yet another example of the hectic activity Canada's Indians have exhibited in 1990, comes from south Alberta. Here on the *Peigan* reservation, a group of Indians belonging to the Lonefighters Society has succeeded in stopping a huge and ambitious dam project. The dam is 70% finished and is to tap water from the Oldman River, which runs through the Peigans' reservation and out into an irrigation system serving some 300 farmers.

Since 1882, the Peigans have had jurisdiction over the present reservation, and they have therefore had exclusive land- and water-rights in the area. Peigan Chief Leonard Bastian and the band council challenged Alberta province to keep away from the area until an in-depth investigation has shown which consequences the dam will have for people, as well as for the environment. The dam will, among others, destroy several archaeological and historical landmarks which for many have religious significance. Alberta has opted to ignore this complaint from the Peigan band,; similarly, the province has ignored the decision from the Federal Court of Appeals, which in March demanded an investigation into environmental costs in connection with the dams. This made the Lonefighters Soceity go into action. On 3 August, the Lonefighters began to dig up the dams and let the water run its original course. This work was only partly finished when the Royal Canadian Mounted Police stormed the Lonefighters camp. One of the Lonefighters, Milton Born with a Tooth, tried to stop RCMP's illegal entry into the Reservation by firing a couple of warning shots. A few days later, he was arrested and imprisoned indefinitely. The work of redirecting Oldman River back to its old path is thus momentarily stopped. A group of Lonefighters will camp through the whole winter by the dams.

For further information please contact:

The Lonefighters Society
c/o Friends of the OldmanRiver
Alberta Wilderness Association
Box 6398, Station D
Calgary, Alberta T2P 2E1
Canada

In March came the UN's condemnation of Canada's treatment of the Lubicon Lake Band. In the last 50 years, the small Cree nation in northern Alberta has fought in vain to reserve some land area towards setting up a reservation. In 1988, they were able to set up an Agreement with the state of Alberta, but since then, the Federal government has blocked this agreement, as well as further developments towards a satisfactory economic compensation to the Lubicon Band. Canada's richest oil- and gas field is located within the Lubicon Crees' traditional land areas. In spite of the extraction of oil and gas amounting to millions of dollars and that the oil industry has ruined the Lubicon Band's hunting and fishing economy, the latter have never had any compensation.

The UN Human Rights Committee Report (CCPR/C/38/D/167/1984) finds Canada guilty of violating Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Committee found "historical inequities, to which the State party refers, and certain more developments threaten the way of life and culture of the Lubicon Lake Band, and constitue a violation of

Article 27 so long as they continue."[1]

At the close of last year, the Lubicon Lake Band decided to force the oil companies which carried out operations on Lubicon Lake Band's traditional areas, to stop the extraction. This year the Band expanded this restriction to include logging in the area. As long as the Federal government will not enter into serious negotiations, there will neither be logging nor oil extraction in the area. The Lubicon Lake Band rested their argumentation on the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which gives aboriginal nations the right to exercise jurisdiction over their traditional land areas until a treaty is negotiated between the Indians and the British Crown (later, Canada). This means that the Lubicon Lake Band has the right to exercise its jurisdiction over 4 000 square miles and not just 95 square miles as has been proposed as their reservation. With the confrontation between the Mohawk and the military in Oka, Quebec, fresh in the memory, several logging companies decided to stop their operations and waited for a clarification of the situation.

The Japanese-owned firm Daishowa has built the largest hardwood pulp mill in Canada, north of Peace River and 65 miles west of Lubicon Lake Band traditional territory. Several environmental organisations have protested against the polluting consequences of the Daishowa's pulp mill which consumes 4 million trees annually, which come from the Lubicon Lake Band's traditional territory.

At first, Daishowa promised to postpone their logging activities until the Lubicon Lake Band had entered into a treaty agreement with Alberta and the Federal government. But towards the end of the year, it nevertheless started together with other logging companies, extensive logging activity. On 24 November, the Buchanan logging camp was raided resulting in the destruction of some 20 500 $ Can worth of equipment. Some weeks later, 12 Lubicons were accused of having perpetrated the destruction. At the same time that the police decided to patrol the area, the Lubicon Lake Band announced that they will fight logging and oil production on their hunting grounds. Chief Bernard Ominayak says that there are two ways of stopping the conflict. One is to let the Federal government take care of his Band's land claims. The other requires that resource corporations contain their extractive activities.

Sources: IWGIA Newsletter No.62, Assembly of First Nations Bulletin, Kainai News, Ha-Shilth-Sa Environment Network News, International Rivers Network, Native Press, Secwepemc News, Alberta Native News, The Edmonton Journal, The Mirror, Windspeaker, Lubicon Lake Indian Nation, House of Commons Debates Official Report.

---

[1] Article 27 of the Optional Protocol of the International Covenent on Civil and Political Rights states: "In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language." Canada acceded to the Covenant on May 19, 1976.

USA

The Federal Death Penalty Act of 1989 (SB 32) is a bill that is much debated around Indian reservations. By the month of June 1990, 14 tribes had made resolutions opposing the bill.

A US Sentencing Report revealed that only 1.7% of people sentenced in federal courts were Native Americans, but for homicide 77.8% were Native Americans. The use of alcohol are the sad rule in these cases and they also invariably involve family members. The mentioned bill, then, does not consider the fact that alcoholism is the greatest social problem and health threat facing almost every tribe. In states that have no death penalty, Indians will be subjected to the consequences of the bill where non-Indians would not be because of the Federal-tribal legal relationship.

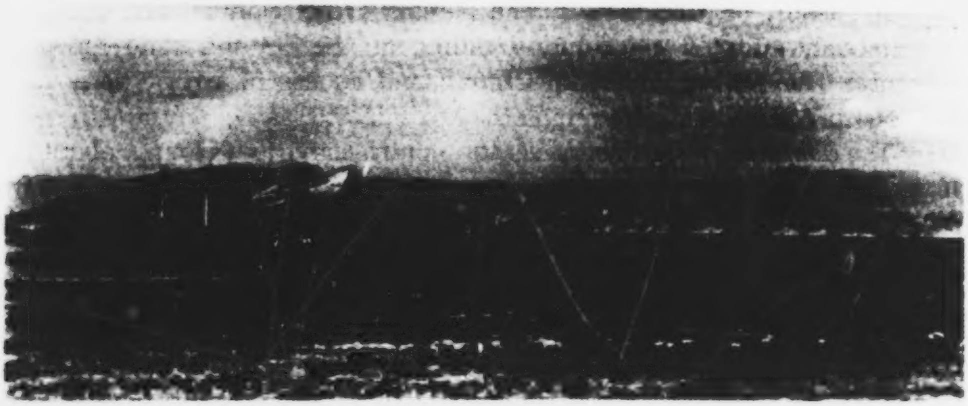
Two Senators have each proposed amendments to the bill. Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, D.K.Inouye, proposed that Indian Country should be exempt from a death penalty, "unless a tribe votes within one year of enactment to have the death penalty apply to its reservation".

Senator J.McCain's amendment allows a tribe to "opt-out" on a limit of one year after legislation. As far as we know, the latest update on this bill, is that the legislation came down on the decision that it is up to the tribe to decide if they want the act to be applicable on their reservation.

The *Puyallup* Tribe received $ 162 million in settlement after five years of negotiation with several non-Indian governments and individual landowners.

Their Treaty of Medicine Creek in 1854 and Executive Order of 1857 guaranteed the tribe a reservation of 18 000 acres. The tribe did not receive this land, because it was taken by settlers, the railroad and companies. Individual members received $20 000, and the tribe took several steps to head off any problems tribal members could encounter with such sums of money. Non-tribal members were not permitted on the grounds during the two days that the checks were issued, but a dozen reporters, photographers, car salesmen, and reportedly, even two cocaine dealers lined up across the road, anxious for access to an interview, or some of the cash.

Tribal members have the option of leaving some or all of the individual payments in a trust fund to collect tax-free interest. Several financial management and investment seminars have been conducted for tribal members, and they will have opportunities to meet twice a year with financial advisors from the tribe's bank in the future. The Puyallup Tribe agreed to drop its claims to thousands of acres of its original reservation land, much of it in downtown Tacoma and the industrial Tideflats, in exchange for cash, fisheries enchancement, job training, more than 400 public and private-sector jobs, economic development funds, and a $ 22 million permanent trust fund to be used for health, education and social services. The tribe will receive clear title to more than 900 acres, some of which has potential for development as a deep-water shipping terminal. All of the newly acquired lands will be placed in trust.



Drilling for fossil fuels in the land of the Navajos. Photo from "Pictures of the Navajo, their health and environment. (Copyright: Navajo Health Authority)

The tribe has not given up any of its treaty rights to fish and hunt in usual and accustomed grounds. Further, the tribe is to be treated as a full partner by other governments in consultation for land use and water quality issues.

The Supreme Court of the United States has not kept up with the international development of securing human rights to indigenous people in later years, coming down with questionable decisions in several matters concerning Native Americans. For instance the Court decided that "the First Amendment guarantee of religious expression does not include Native American's religious ecological practices surrounding sacred grounds."

The U.S.Forest Service plans to issue permits to drill for oil and gas in the Badger-Two-Medicine area of the *Blackfoot* Nation to Chevron and American Petrofina. A "Draft Environmental Impact Statement" (DEIS) was positive to the plans insofar as the Forest Service consulted with affective groups. And the area has not been designated wilderness by any bill in Congress. But the Crazy Dogs, a traditional Society of the Blackfeet, brought the case to the UN World Heritage Committee to preserve the area. The Blackfeet Tribal Business Council, The Pikuni Traditionalists Association, and the Glacier-Two-Medicine Alliance all oppose the explorations. Also, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has suggested that drilling be transferred elsewhere so as to not disturb Blackfeet practices. The case took a new turn in September, when the former Impact Statement was cancelled. Blackfeet leaders are now saying that they will file a lawsuit if the government still approves the drilling.

Another controversial decision of the Supreme Court is the *peyote* ruling, stating that the ceremonial use of peyote is not protected by the US Constitution. The decision was taken on a case where two Indians in Oregon sought to get state unemployment insurance after being fired from their jobs for peyote use in a Native American Church ceremony. 23 States have exempted Indian ceremonial use of peyote from criminal prosecution. The Oregon Legislature will introduce a bill next year that will likely override the

Supreme Court on this matter. The Navajo Tribal Council last February unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the US and state courts to recognize The Native American Church and its use of peyote as a valid religious practice.

The *Chippewa* spearfishing season controversy, that started about six years ago, has created a lot of trouble for the Chippewa bands in Northern Wisconsin. Several court decisions have been favourable for the bands' rights to harvest resources in their aboriginal homelands ceded to the Federal government in the 1850's. The treaties have been interpreted as applying to the harvesting of fish, wild game, wild rice and timber. Anti-Indian protesters organized under the names of "Protect Americas's Rights and Resources" (PARR) and "Stop Treaty Abuse" (STA), and anti-Indian individuals have increasingly turned to violence. Acting like a mob, white protesters, sometimes drunken, turned up the boat landings to harass and threaten Indian fishermen.

These people have screamed obscenities, thrown rocks and bottles, fired gunshots into the air, and rammed and swapped fishing boats, and then,created many difficulties for the fishermen and their families.

However, this year about 100 members af AIM (American Indian Movement) from the Minneapolis area, together with several non-Indian organizations created to support the bands, turned out. A confrontation happened when the anti-Indian people blocked the boat-landing area from the AIM members. Some Indian leaders say the anti-treaty rights protesters who have disrupted Chippewa spear fishing actually are pawns of oil companies that are plotting with the state of Wisconsin to mine the rich zinc, validnium and uranium deposits in the state's northern region. They also point to the role of J. Klauser, Gov.T.Thompson's top adviser and leading negotiator with regard to mineral rights leases, now on leave as a lobbyist for Exxon. He has met several times with anti-Indian groups, and commentators said his next target is reservation land.

The Governor himself became the target for critisism, accused of appeasing anti-Indian protesters. Reportedly he told individual protesters that he would seek federal intervention in the dispute. Thompson made several trips to Washington for the purpose. Three Univ. of Wisconsin professors, in a report on the treaty rights dispute critizised the governor for failing to "denounce the racism" associated with the anti-groups. Gov.Thompson denied the conclusion of the report.

Two reporters, from *Milwaukee Journal* and the *Duluth News Tribune*, assigned to the controversy were taken off the controversial story after their editors charged that their articles indicated a "bias" in favor of Indians. US District Judge Barbara Crabb ruled in Madison on 9 May that equal sharing of resources is necessary. She said the tribal members' "needs for a moderate standard of living dictate their right to a full share of harvest, subject to a ceiling set at 50% to prevent the frustration of the non-Indian treaty right.

Judge Crabb had previously ruled the Chippewa bands were entitled to 100% of the "safe allowable" catch of fish - a level the Indians had never come close to reaching. The reaction to her decision was largely favorable by both tribal leaders and state officials. Lac du Flambeau spearfishing leader Tom Maulson said tribal fishermen have supported the idea of sharing the resources for years. He said dividing the resources will not unfairly deprive the Chippewa of their rights. Lac du Flambeau Tribal Chairman Mike Allen said that the tribe should appeal the ruling, because the tribes' future resources could be at stake. Tribal attorney Joseph Young said the ruling lowers incentives for the tribe to reduce treaty activities voluntarily.

Both spearfishers and tribal leaders said this season was relatively calm in comparison to last years's, despite several incidents of violence. On the last night of spearing for the Lac du Flambeau band on 5 May, two dozen law enforcement officers dressed in full riot gear, along with more than 100 non-Indian protesters, gathered at Butternut Lake prepared for a final confrontation with Chippewas after the spearers had announced they would fish that lake. But spearfishers went instead to Lake Minocqua, some 40 miles southwest of Butternut, successfully thwarting protesters who wanted to make a visible "last stand" on the season's last night.

Let us hope that those commentators that said that the anti-treaty movement "lost momentum and foundered" late in the season and that it will disintegrate by next year have made an accurate prediction.

The Nebraska *Santee Sioux* have requested to have 55 acres of land (Council Bluff on Interstate 80) to be purchased for a $ 67 mill casino hotel complex, taken into trust. And the Santee Sioux has worked out a proposal with Harvey's Resort and Casino of Lake Tahoe, Nevada to build and operate Iowa's first big-time gambling resort.

Under the rules of the Indian Gambling Regulatory Act passed by Congress in 1988, the Secretary of Interior can take newly acquired land into trust for an Indian tribe to use for gambling purposes if the land is contiguous to boundaries of the existing reservation; or if the lands are within the Indian tribe's last recognized reservation within the State where the tribe resides. However, the secretary is authorized to take the land into trust disregarding those two requirements, if, after consultation with the tribes and state and local officials he determines that a gaming establishment on the newly acquired lands "would be in the best interests of the tribe... but only if the Governor of the State in which the gaming activity is to be conducted concurs in the Secretary's determination..."

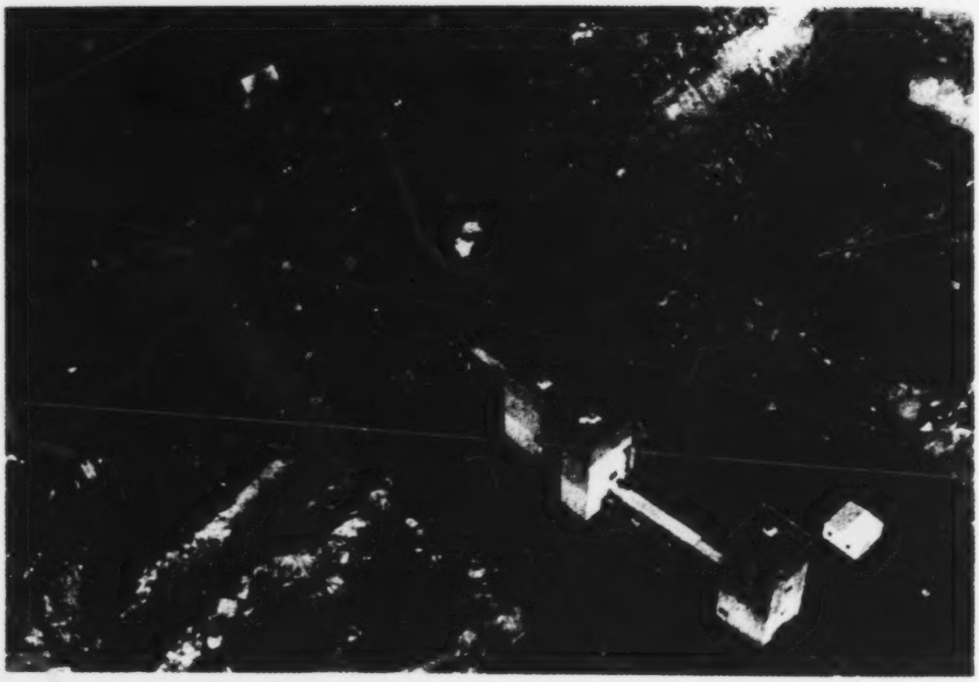
In Oklahoma, several tribes want to develop different gambling and racing facilities. One problem area is to what extent the state can tax these facilities. The 10th US Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that "Oklahoma gave up all jurisdiction over Indian land when it joined the union." The *Potawatomi* Tribe wants to set up a gambling parlour 200 miles from their land and the *Shoshone Bannock* are in negotiations with officials. In recent years many tribes have aired plans to operate some sort of gambling resort. Those plans may be a result of limited resources and a struggle for development on reservations in general. And a reaction to the bad support and ill-managed trust responsibility from the Federal government.

Zuni leaders have recovered four stolen war god statues created in the early 1800's, and more statues have been located in foreign countries and in US states. 31 statues are recovered since 1978, but the missing number is not known. The *pueblo* makes two war god statues each year-one by the bear clan and one by the deer clan. They are given to the bow priests, also known as war chiefs, who place them in shrines around the reservation. Traditional Zunis believe the evils of the world are caused by the absence of the statues from their shrines, and that an evil energy comes from them when they are not enshrined. When they are in their shrines, the war gods are guardians to protect the Zuni people. Thieves have stolen the statues from their shrines for hundreds of years, selling them to museums and private collectors.

The 1990 "National American Indian Housing Council" (NAIHC) had their 16th Annual Convention this year. It represents more than 180 American Indian and Alaska Native Housing Authorities (IHA's). Funding for HUD Indian housing programs has declined in the past eight years, while the need for housing assistance has increased. In fiscal year 1991 a zero funding level was requested by the Administration despite a 1989 BIA housing survey that revealed an existing need for assisting more than 93 000 Indian and Alaska Native families. Housing experts throughout the country have declared that "Indian Housing is the worst in the nation as more than one-fourth of all Indian housing is either sub-standard, overcrowded or without basic plumbing facilities.

Six Indian tribes (*Quinault* Indian Nation, *Lummi* Indian Nation, Jamestown *Klallam* Indian Tribe, *Hoopa* Valley Indian Tribe, *Cherokee* Nation of Tahlequah, The Mille Lacs Band of *Chippewa*) have gained increased control over federal funds in a demonstration project, which a total of 20 tribes can be a part of. Terms of the agreements allow the five (the number in the quote was five, but one more tribe "qualified" in the year; ed. note) tribes to administer and redesign existing BIA programs according to tribal priorities and to receive direct funding from BIA's annual budget appropriations.

The US Senate is in the process of approving a bill to compensate *Navajo* uranium miners, and "to issue a formal apology to miners and their descendants." Between 1947 and 1971, up to 15 000 Navajo and other miners worked without protection in unventilated uranium mines in New Mexico, Arizona, Colerado and Utah. They were mining uranium for the US nuclear weapons program that was undergoing a massive buildup during the ColdWar. Many of the men died of cancer as a result of the long-term exposure to radiation levels now estimated at 1 000 times the allowable level. More than 400 workers died of lung cancer alone, at five times the national average. Representatives from the US Public Health Service have testified that they tried to warn the Department of Defence of the dangers, but no one would listen. Hundreds of Navajo families still live near abandoned uranium mines that register high radiation levels, and some even live in houses built of radioactive stone.



Strip uranium mining leaves ugly scars in the landscape. The US Senate is about to approve a bill to compensate Navajo uranium miners and to issue a formal apology to the miners and their descendants. Photo from "Pictures of the Navajo,their health and environment. (Copyright: The Navajo Health Authority)

In June Barbara Booher, born and raised on the *Uinatah* and *Ouray* Indian Reservation, was hired as the new superintendent at Custer Battlefield National Monument. Her appointment has given twice as many (local) Indians an opportunity to work at the park. She also plans to make a shift in the historical presentation of the Bighorn Battle, "toward recognizing the Indian warriors who won the fight." Euro-Americans supporting Custer are outraged by this, and have been sending protest letters to Washington.

According to Pease-Windy Boy (President of Little Bighorn College; ed.) battlefield superintendents up until now have been more focused on military history from the Custer perspective. And she points out, nothing outrages white, male historians more than the idea of having a superintendent who is both Indian and woman.

As last year, a US Senator has taken the floor to criticize US policy towards Indians. On 31 July, Arizona Senator John McCain, with a 13-page speech outlined the relationship. The Arizona senator said that inconsistent federal policies, inept and often corrupt management of the Federal government's trust responsibility for Native Americans and their resources have helped perpetuate an appalling standard of living for Indians. "It is comparable to conditions found in the poorest of Third World countries", he said. "We have broken nearly every promise we have made to the Indian people," he went on to say. "Though I abhor its occurence, I am not astonished that frustration occasionally errupts into violence in Indian country."

McCain called upon his colleagues in Congress and the Administration to "please join the Committee (Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs) in our good faith efforts to relieve the suffering that permeates so much of Indian Life."

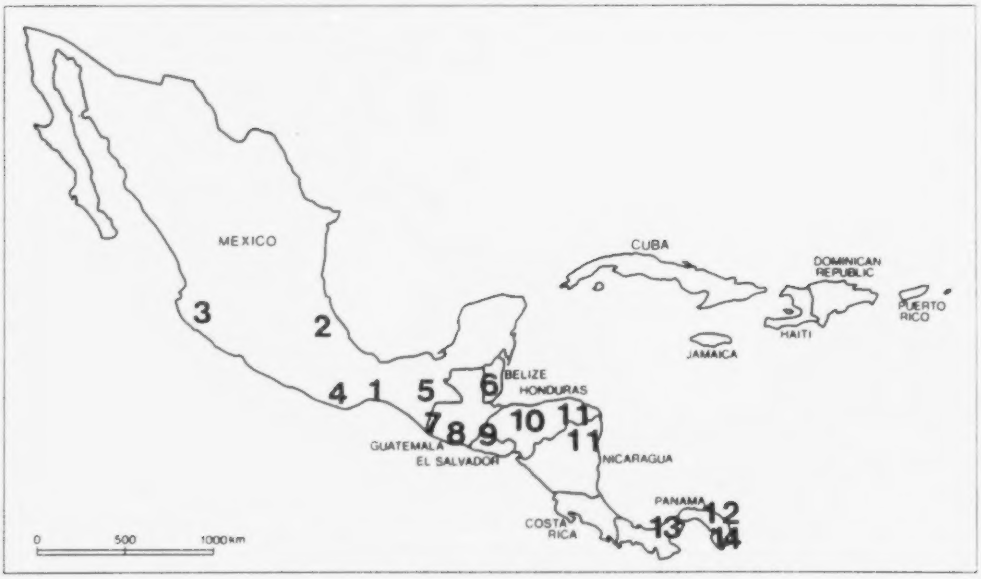
Interior Secretary Lujan and Indian Affairs Assistent Secretary E.Brown discussed BIA restructuring with more than 1 000 Indian tribal leaders and representatives in a 28 September meeting in Albuquerque, New Mexico. They wanted to present the Bush administration's approach to the formulation and implementation of Indian policy. The Interior Secretary called on tribal leaders to separate economic development from tribal politics. He told the conference that the cornerstone of Interior's initiative is a new program that will allow tribal governments the flexibility to choose, plan implement their highest priority community, housing, natural resource and economic development programs.

Also, I.A.A. Secretary Brown pointed out that the restructuring of the BIA is needed to meet the challenges of the 1990's. "These are the special challenges: more effective administration of the trust obligation; restructuring for greater flexibility and accountability; and stronger consultation", he said.

Congress has issued an apology to descendants of *Sioux* Indians of the Wounded Knee massacre. In the resolution, Congress said it "acknowledges the historical significance of this event as the last armed conflict of the Indian wars period... and hereby expresses its deep regret on behalf of the United States to the descendants of the victims and survivors and their respective tribal communities." The congressional resolution stops short at providing reparations to descendants and it does not declare the site a national monument, as had been requested by the Wounded Knee Survivors Association.

Sources: The 1990 edition of Char-Koosta News; articles/columns from Native American News Service and Lakota Times.

Map of Central America



Indigenous Population: 13 million

1. *Mixe*
2. *Nahua*
3. *Huichol*
4. *Triqui*
5. *Tzotzil*
6. *Maya*
7. *Cakchiquel*
8. *Conjobal*
9. *Nahuat/Lenca*
10. *Xicque*
11. *Miskitu*
12. *Kuna*
13. *Guaymí*
14. *Embere*

64
3

CENTRAL AMERICA and MEXICO

Land rights issues have been the basis of many of the indigenous movements activities in **Mexico**. Land rights problems and the imprisonment of four Indian leaders, urged 13 Indians to go on hunger strike right in front of the Government building. The hunger strike which took place in mid-July, lasted one week. One of the Indian leaders, Miguel Feria went to the capital of the country in order to solve land rights problems in his community, but was jailed and accused by the police for trafficking marijuana. The hunger strike was co-ordinated by the National Coordinating Body of Indian Nations (CNPI) of Mexico.

At the end of July the "National Movement of the 400 Peoples", an organisation with links to the government and including movements from both the indigenous peoples and the peasant movement, made a 7-day march to the capital of the country. The objective of the march was to ask the government for a solution to the land rights problems of peasants and Indians in Mexico. A few thousands from the 16 000 who participated, went from the Caribbean coast to the capital city, a walk of about 350 kms.

On 5 November, a meeting among indigenous writers was held in Victoria City. The aim of the meeting was to discuss the introduction of bilingual education already in kindergarten; now bilingual education starts

Guatemalan refugee in Mexico. The fate of thousands of refugees from Guatemala is now being addressed by international organizations such as the UNHCR and the EEC which are sending food and medicine and implementing self-sufficiency programs for refugee camps. (Photo: M. Vanappelghem, UNHCR) in primary school. Another topic of discussion was the way in which bilingual education operates in practice. In this connection, there were criticisms over the *castilianization* of indigenous languages in bilingual education.

At the end of 1990, some efforts were undertaken to solve the fate of the thousands of refugees from Guatemala living in Mexico. Thousands of *Maya* refugees in the border location of Chiapas between Guatemala and Mexico, who together with other refugees from Guatemala have suffered in refugee camps for more than a decade, are now receiving aid from different sources which are making a co-ordinated effort to help the refugees. The UNHCR, the European Community, and European countries are not only sending relief of food and medicine, but are also implementing aid programmes in the refugee camps to make refugee camps self-sufficient.

At the end of November, the Mexican President formally presented before the National Congress a law reform aiming to improve the situation of the 10 million Indians living in the country.

In order to confront 15 years of violence in **Guatemala**, the Indians in the country are concentrating their efforts to organize the Indian movement in Guatemala. According to an interview given by the President of CUC (The Committee of United Peasants), Federico Gomez Lopez, to PORANTIM (a Brazilian church-related paper on indigenous issues), the violence in Guatemala against Indian people is now more targeted than in previous years. Tortures, detentions, and killings of Indian leaders have become more cruel and more selective and, according to F.G.Lopez, the "young Guatemalan democracy" has never reached the Indian people. During the last seven years new Indian organisations have appeared. In 1985 the "National Council of Exiled Guatemalans" was formally established. In 1986 the organization of the detained and disappeared was established; on the same year the CUC was organized and few months later, the "Guatemalan Widows National Organisation" (CONAVIGUA) was created. The "Council of Ethnic Communities" whose main objective is to dissolve paramilitary patrols that fight against Indian communities, appeared at the end of the 80's. All those organisations are now trying to have a common platform in order to present their demands together before the Guatemalan Government.

According to CUC, in Guatemala, military authority overrides civilian authority. At present, the country is divided into 23 military zones, most of them located in the rural regions. These military zones control self-defence patrols, the military-imposed model villages, the centres of development, the military detachments and general policy. Therefore, human rights abuses and the sophistication of violence is seen by CUC as a part of the mechanism of a militarised society.

The organisation has clearly placed its demands before the international community in a talk that a representative of CUC delivered before the United Nations Work Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva in August 1990: "It is becoming more and more urgent for the international community and solidarity groups to join the struggle of the indigenous and first peoples

---

Yanomami mother and child. The Yanomamis continue to die from diseases brought by the garimpeiros, a mortality rate of of as high as 68 % in the Surucucus, while there is noted a notoriously small percentage of children under one year of age. (Photo: Teresa Aparicio, IWGIA)

Guaymi girl. The Guaymis, original inhabitants of Costa Rica still do not have citizenship. (Photo: Pedro M. Angulo.)

of our continent, to turn their eyes to our resistance, to the future of our indigenous peoples and to development, democracy and peace in our country....."

On 11 October, the Indigenous Parliament of America which was created in 1988 in Costa Rica, met in Guatemala and agreed that the military in Central and South America be reduced, and that programmes of demilitarisation in indigenous communities should be implemented as soon as possible. The parliamentarians also placed demands on the South and Central American governments around indigenous rights including land rights, the right of Indian peoples to their environment, and their opposition to the festivities which are being planned in connection with the 500 Years anniversary of the European conquest of the Americas.

At the end of the year, on 12 December, the Guatemalan government accepted US $ 4.5 million donation from AID (the International Development Agency), to protect the "Maya Biosphere". The aim of the programme is to improve the management of renewable natural resources, and to protect the great biological variety of the region.

In **El Salvador,** in June, the indigenous organisation ANIS (the National Indigenous Organisation of El Salvador), complained to the government that credits to implement agricultural programmes were delayed and, at the same time, heavy rains had destroyed agricultural fields in M*ani* Indian communities. ANIS urged the government to help Indian people and to speed up the granting of agricultural credits.

On 12 October, Indian people demonstrated in the streets of the capital asking for respect to their cultures and languages. The President of ANIS, the Indian leader Adrian Esquina, led a ritual to Mother Earth before the monuments to the Spanish Queen Isabel, and to Cristobal Colon. The participants to the ritual asked the Government that 12 October be regarded as "the day of misfortune".

Between 17-22 September, ANIS celebrated its first indigenous meeting with delegates of the three indigenous nations living in the country: *the Nahuat, the Lencas, and the Mayas.* At the end of the historical meeting, the three Indian represented prepared a final document containing a 21-point demand to the government. Among these were: to stop human rights violations, most especially among Indian nations in El Salvador; that indigenous nations nations be respected since it is they who take care of a great part of the agricultural work in the country; that the international aid be channeled into the poorest of the poor, that is, to the Indian people instead of using such aid for military ends; that the government subscribes to the international treaties on indigenous rights; that the army be humanised; that an agricultural reform taking care of the most needy and most poor be implemented.

In **Costa Rica,** the *Guaymi* Indians living in the southern part of the country still do not have Costa Rican citizenship even though they constitute the original inhabitants of the country. The President of Costa Rica, Rafael Angel Calderon, has promised a law reform granting the Guaymi identity cards. However, the requirements to obtain the cards are not easy for non-Spanish speaking Indians. Indians should accompany their request for citizenship with a document indicating the date and the place of their birth. If no such document exists, Indian peoples should present three witnesses to support their request. But for Guaymi indians the date of birth is not important and they keep no record of it; furthermore, the witnesses they could come up with are also undocumented Indian people. The question of citizenship is most important for the Indian people of Costa Rica because without it they are not entitled to national health and education services. This means lack of access to the most basic and elementary governmental services.

Donald Rojas, an Indian representative from Costa Rica was re-elected as President of the WCIP (World Council of Indigenous Peoples), during WCIP's sixth Assembly celebrated in Tromsø, Norway, in August this year (see a report on the Assembly in this volume).

In **Panama,** the year started with the formal establishment of the Kuna Revolution Day, on 25 February by the Kuna General Congress. From now on, this date will be considered as a formal holiday through the whole Kuna Yala territory.

On 12 October, hundreds of Indians including *Guaymis, Kunas and Emberas* demonstrated in front of the Spanish Embassy in the capital of the country demanding respect for their culture, and protesting about the celebrations that the Spanish Government has scheduled to commemorate the 500 years anniversary of the Spanish conquest of the Americas. The Panama

Indians also protested against the official Spanish theme of the celebration: "meeting between two worlds", because they do not consider this to be appropriate in describing the killings and the oppression of the indigenous peoples during the European invasion of the Americas.

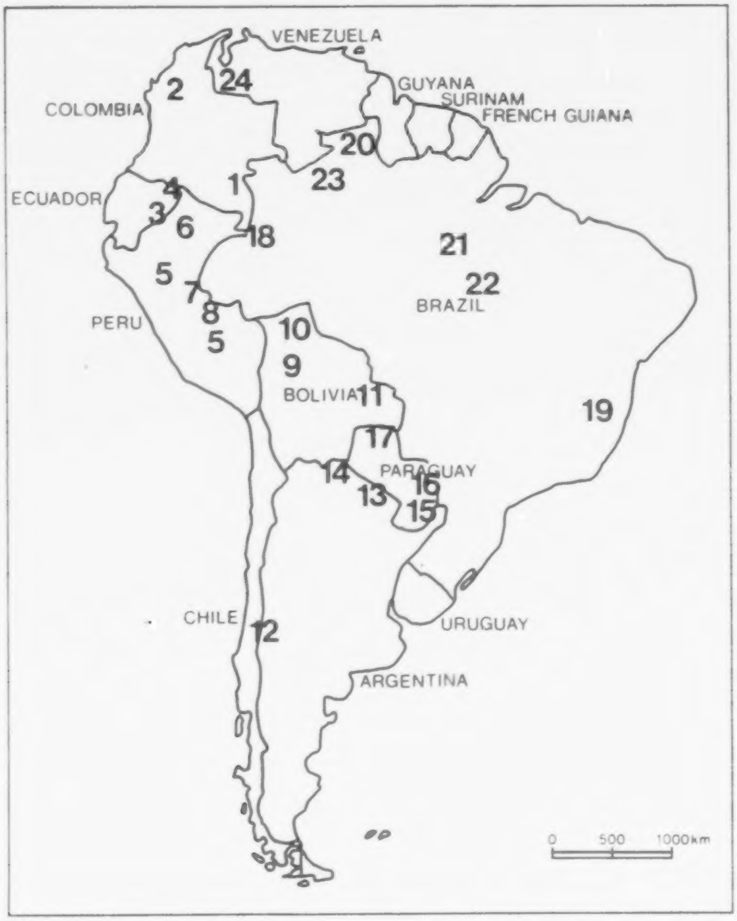
The idea of establishing the Kuna Yala as protected environmental zones will be placed before the United Nations in order to solicit support. On 12 November, G. Archibold, the Director of PEMASKY (Project to Study the Management of Natural Resources of Kuna Yala), proposed to the Government to request the United Nations that an area of 60 000 hectares be declared as protected biosphere. The request was presented during the First Inter-American Indigenous Congress where environmental issues as well as the situation of indigenous people in general, was discussed.

One of the most important events in **Nicaragua** during 1990, has been the participation of indigenous organisations in the February elections. YATAMA, the Indian organisation led by Brooklyn Rivera who went back to Nicaragua from exile one year ago, won an important victory during the last elections to the Council of the nominally autonomous Atlantic region. YATAMA won nearly half of the northern councilor seats from the regional districts. Furthermore, it also won four seats from regional districts in the southern Atlantic region, which is mostly populated by black creoles and non-Indian people.

YATAMA started to participate at the elections only four months before the elections took place and, according to that organization, voters in rural areas who were likely to vote for YATAMA, had difficulties in voting because registration precincts did not function as scheduled on all election days. However, YATAMA has undoubtedly established itself as a political indigenous force in Nicaragua.

Sources: NOTINDIO (Panama); National Indian Youth Council (USA); ANIS (El Salvador); CUC (Guatemala); IPS.

Map of South America



Population: Lowlands over 1 million
Highlands over 19.5 millions

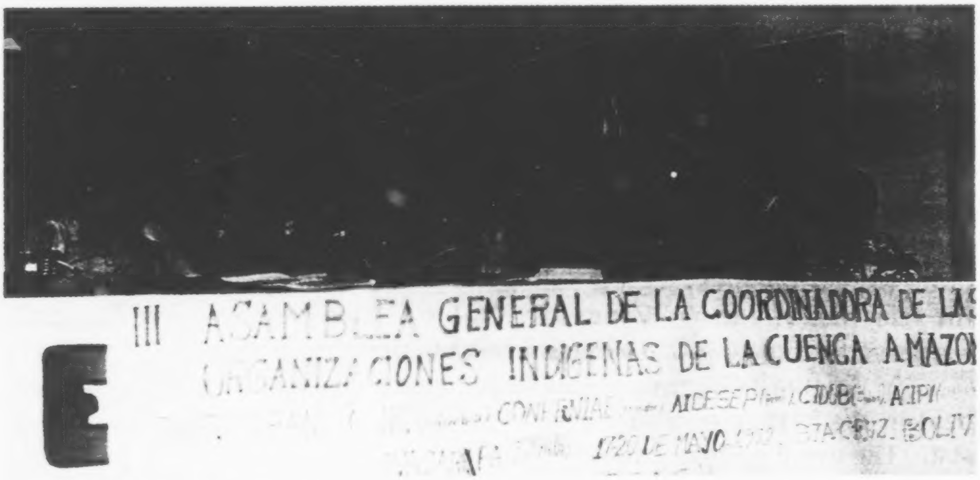
1. *Macu-Nukak*
2. *Embera*
3. *Huaorani*
4. *Quichua/Siona/Secoya/Cofan*
5. *Quechua*
6. *Aguaruna*
7. *Yanesha*
8. *Matsigenka/Piro/Nahua*
9. *Aymara*
10. *Chiname*
11. *Yuqui*
12. *Mapuche/Peluenche/Huilliche*
13. *Toba*
14. *Kolla*
15. *Mbya*
16. *Pai Tavytera*
17. *Ayoreo*
18. *Tikuna*
19. *Pataxo Ha-Ha-Hae*
20. *Makuxi*
21. *Kaiapo*
22. *Ava-Canoeiro*
23. *Yanomami*
24. *Barí/Yukpa/Wayuu*

SOUTH AMERICA

The first Summit between Amazonian Indians represented by the Coordinating Body for Indigenous Peoples Organizations of the Amazon Basin (COICA), environmentalists, and support organizations, on the role of indigenous peoples in the administration and conservation of the **Amazon** region, was held in Iquitos (Peru), in May. The historical meeting resulted in a document now known as the Iquitos Declaration which concludes that it is necessary to continue working as an "Indigenous and Environmentalist Alliance for an Amazon for Humanity".

In October, the President of COICA, Evaristo Nugkuag Ikanen, proposed the signing of treaties with European cities to coordinate the fight for conservation of the Amazon basin. Two Austrian cities, Salzburg and Graz, have already signed the treaties. The signatory cities of the treaties undertake to support the demands of Amazonian Indians to their lands. Furthermore, the European cities will also encourage trade with alternative products of the Amazon and, at the same time, will discourage the import and consumption of products harmful to the conservation of the Amazon forest. The European cities are expected to participate in indigenous projects in the rainforests of the Amazon. Another goal of the treaties is to promote radical changes in the international investment policies in the Amazon. Donor countries should influence international lending institutions such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, to recognise and respect the rights of Amazonian Indians.

During June a group of 860 Indians from the South of **Surinam** took refuge in the north of Brazil in order to escape the fighting going on between


III ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA COORDINADORA DE LA
ORGANIZACIONES INDIGENAS DE LA CUENCA AMAZO
CONFENIAE AIDESEP CIDOB ACIPI
17-20 DE MAYO STA. CRUZ. BOLIV

COICA, the Coordinating Body for Indigenous Peoples Organizations of the Amazon Basin (some of its officers above) has proposed the signing of treaties between European cities and the Amazon for the preservation of the Amazon basin. (Photo: IWGIA archives) the military and guerrilla forces in Surinam. The leader of the *Pikuminet Neyria* Indians asked FUNAI, the Brazilian Indian Foundation for Indians, to assist the refugees who were suffering from malaria.

The majority of the Indians who crossed the border settled in the Tumucumaque Park, which is occupied by about 1 000 Brazilian *Apalai and Tirios* Indians. The contact between Indians from Brazil and Surinam has increased due to the armed conflicts in Surinam.

According to CONIVE, the National Indian Council in **Venezuela**, 33% of the indigenous communities continue to lack legal titles to their lands, and the indigenous lands which already are titled, are either too small or under state administration. The latter restricts the use of natural resources for Indian people while, on the other hand, the government has given mining and timber licitations located in indigenous territories.

The health situation among Indian groups has been described by CONIVE as critical, with Indian people showing the highest mortality rate in Venezuela. The main diseases affecting the Indian people are dysentery, TB, malaria, hepatitis, measles, whooping cough, and river-blindness (oncocercosis). Furthermore, skin and intestinal diseases caused by the contamination of mercury in the waters due to mining activities are spreading fast among the Indian population.

Indigenous organizations in Venezuela have complained that the governmental bilingual education programme which was officially launched in 1979 has not yet been implemented satisfactorily.

The situation of the *Kari'na I*indians has become so critical that the governors of the states of Anzoátegui and Bolivar have signed an agreement to protect them. The objectives of the agreement are to join forces in the economic, social, and cultural spheres in order to defend the rights of the Kari'na to live as a people. The two governors will ask the states of Monagas and Sucre where there are also Kari'na people, to join their initiative.

The *Yanomami I*ndians are beginning to suffer from the invasion of the *garimpeiros* (gold-diggers) who are illegally entering Venezuela from Brazil. In contrast to Brazil, Venezuela has no figures on how many Yanomami have died from diseases brought about by the garimpeiros. The Permanent Commission of Culture of the Venezuelan Parliament has asked its Vice-President, Mr. Carlos Azpurua, to investigate the case of the Yanomami in order to be acquainted with the situation of this Indian nation. At the end of the year, the President of Venezuela, Carlos Andres Perez, proposed to create a reserve for the 14 000 Yanomami Indians living in Venezuela.

In August 1990, the 5th inter-ethnic sport gathering in Venezuela was held in the Manakru community, in Santa Elena de Uairén, in the Bolivar state. The event gathered about 600 athletes from 17 different Indian groups. Among the main disciplines played during the gathering were football, volleyball, swimming, athletics, canoe-sailing, bow-and-arrow, and blow-pipes.

The National Indigenous Organization (ONIC) in **Colombia**, held its 3rd National Congress in June, in Bosa, in the centre of the country. Three

Venezuela Yanomamis during a cure led by their shaman.
(Photo: Caterina Ales)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

thousand Indians from all over the country, belonging to 80 different ethnic groups participated at the Congress. Among the issues discussed were:

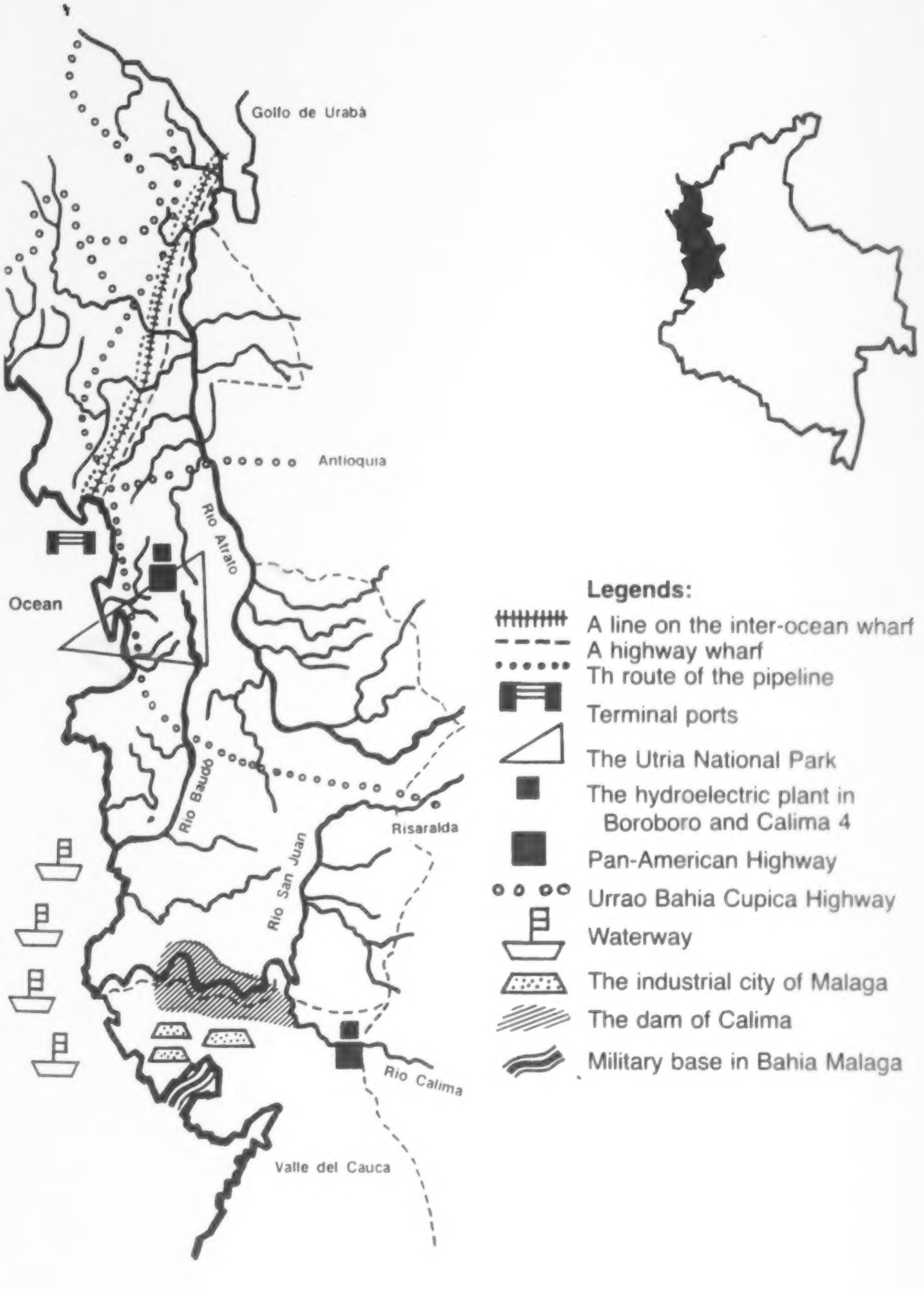
a) indigenous participation in the Constitutional Assembly, newly approved by a national plebiscite in May 1990;
b) the activities of the settlers ("colonos") in indigenous territories;
c) the 500th anniversary of the European invasion of the Americas; and,
d) health and education problems.

On 22 November, a military judge accompanied by military and police forces entered the offices of the Tolima Indigenous Regional Council (CRIT), on the basis of information received that CRIT had weapons and ammunition belonging to the military forces. This action meant that members of CRIT could not participate in a political meeting in support of the candidate to the National Assembly as agreed upon by all indigenous organizations affiliated under ONIC. The candidate heading ONIC's parliamentarian list is Francisco Rojas Birry, an *Embera* Indian of the Choco region, a lawyer and juridical adviser to OIA, the indigenous organization of Antioquia. CRIT has suggested that the objective of the military and police forces was to prevent CRIT members from exercising their political legal rights.

One week later, three *Arhuaco* Indian leaders disappeared when travelling by bus to Bogotá. Their bodies, with signs of torture were found on 15 December. Investigations on the case show that in one of the bus stops along the way, four armed men forced the three Arhuacos into a Toyota vehicle and drove away. Arhuaco leaders have asked the President of the Republic to open a full investigation on the case in order to punish the people behind the crimes.

Over 35 organizations representing Indian and Black groups met between June 16 to 18, in Quibdó, in order to discuss land rights in the Pacific coast of the country, and to define common guidelines for the defense of the ancestral territories of both groups. During the meeting different Indian and Black representatives stated that the large majority of governmental development projects are bringing poverty, diseases, contamination, and violence to the Indian and Black population of the area. The most serious case is the way in which the second largest tropical rainforest in Colombia is being destroyed. This tropical rainforest is situated in the Department of Chocó covering an area of 47 205 sq km. During hundreds of years the area has been inhabited by *Emberá-Waunaa, Katio, and Kuna* Indians, as well as by descendants of the Black population brought from Africa as slaves by the Spanish invaders to work in the mining centres and on the plantations. Today the state does not recognize them as ethnic minorities, they are deprived of public services and their land-rights are not recognised.

Over the last few years the different groups have been pushed off their lands by large mining and lumbering companies who have government approval and who use their position to disregard the rights of Indian and black people to the land and its natural resources. In an attempt to get hold of the rich gold mines of the region, the Colombian government has created



the Pacific Coast Development Plan, PLAIDECOP, with the objective of securing profits through the exploitation of the national resources by national and foreign companies without taking the indigenous people, the Black population or the forest into account.

The beneficiaries of this deal worth millions will be Colombian companies and big foreign firms from the UK, France, Japan, Switzerland, US, Italy, and Holland. The Government has given the investors all the guarantees it can so that they will come out with huge profits:

1) They will recover all the costs of the work they have carried out in the region;
2) they will get a special tax rate for the importation of equipment;
3) they will not be taxed for the first seven years, and in the following eight years they will only pay half;
4) the foreign companies will be able to remit all profits outside the country;
5) credit is guaranteed; and,
6) the Government promises to establish the large Pacific forestry reserve.

In the words of the Unidad Indígena Review (June 1990): "the destruction is guaranteed".

During the June meeting, documents to be handed to the Colombian Government were drafted, asking for a revision of the situation in the Pacific coast, as well as demanding that Colombia recognizes itself as a pluricultural and a multi-ethnic state. In the same way they stated that the government must suspend permits for timber exploitation within communities, and that the indigenous and black peoples be compensated for the infrastructure which has affected them, without their consent.

Oil exploration and exploitation in **Ecuador** is rapidly expanding to new indigenous areas. In 1990, the Government announced new international oil licitation in the Amazon region covering an area of 1.4 million hectares. The licitation includes the National Yasuni Park, which has been declared a "reserve zone for the biosphere" by UNESCO. CONFENIAE, the Confederation of Amazonian Indians in Ecuador, has protested against the new licitation, and has warned the companies to consult them before starting their operations. Many Indian people are moving deeper into the jungle, in order to avoid the oil contamination which is causing skin diseases, chronic diarrhea and other intestinal problems. Oil resources comprise today the main export of Ecuador and about 400 thousands barrels of crude oil have been spilled into the Amazon rivers since Ecuador first started exploiting its oil resources in the beginning of the seventies.

After bitter fights between the *Huaorani* Indians and the Government, the President of Ecuador legalized on 3 April some 612 000 hectares of land which had been previously auto-demarcated by the Huaorani Indians with the help of the Confederation of Indian Nations of Ecuador (CONFENIAE). The President of Ecuador handed the legal titles in an official ceremony to which neither CONFENIAE nor CONAIE had been invited. Ayuma Tenko, a *Huaorani* Indian woman, said to the President upon receipt of the titles:

> "This handing over of territories which you are here presenting us with, is not because of your goodwill. It is the product of years of fight of our people, of the national organizations, as well as of national and international solidarity. In addition Mr. President, we require that you stop immediately the construction of highways in our territory, that the settlers that have invaded our lands and the oil companies who are destroying the jungle, be removed. If you do not fulfil these requirements, we will defend what is ours with our spears."

Indian groups from 8 Sierra provinces, between Imbabura and Canar participated in the First Uprising of Indigenous People in the beginning of June. The groups were protesting the government's inadequate agrarian reform, the exploitation of oil in the Amazon in indigenous lands, and lack of respect for the environment and for indigenous lands. The indigenous organizations headed by CONAIE, the national Indian organization gathering Indian organizations from the coast, the highlands, and the Amazon areas, demanded action in land disputes, legalisation of indigenous territories, and the recognition of *Quechua* as an official language.

On 15 November, the Episcopal Conference in Ecuador (CEE) decided to finance the purchase of land in order to pass it on to the Indian people. The decision has aroused the anger of cattle ranchers who claim that it would encourage Indians to invade the ranchers' lands.

On 14 December, a delegation of Indians from Ecuador asked the European Community to stop the European involvement, specifically Great

Old Otavala woman from Imbabura province of Ecuador where indigenous have protested the government's inadequate land reform, oil exploration among others and where there is agitation for the recognition of Quecha as an official language. (Photo: Rolf Blomberg)

Britain, France, and Denmark, in the resource extraction in indigenous territories. CONFENIAE explained to the European parlamentarians that polluted waters, acid rain and contaminated fish have caused several diseases among the Amazonian Indians. Furthermore, malaria and poliomyelitis introduced by the settlers are also threatening the health of thousands of Indians.

The dialogue between Indian nations and the Government was stopped at the end of October and at the request of the indigenous organizations, in order to give the government more time to study the indigenous demands. In December, indigenous organizations announced to stop indefinitely the dialogue because not one item of the 16-point demand presented to the government had been granted.

Under the leadership of the *Ashaninka* Indians organization from Pichis (ANAP), Ashaninka Indians in **Peru** made a general uprising in order to protest the killing of their spiritual leader and *Pinkatzari* (leader over the leaders) Alejandro Calderon Espinoza, on 15 December 1989. On 5 January 1990, over 3 000 Ashaninka Indians went to the town of Puerto Bermudez where they declared war to Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), the organization behind the crime committed against the Ashaninka leader. In February, the MRTA admited its mistake in killing the Indian leader and the need "..to respect the political, social, and economic autonomy of the indigenous communities of the Peruvian jungle". Shortly thereafter, ANAP announced that the Ashaninka uprising had finished.

But the killings of the Indian leaders continue. On 14 March, an unknown paramilitary group tortured and killed Antonio Hungaro Gonzalez, an Ashaninka leader who was Secretary General of the Association of the Indigenous Communities of the Central Jungle (CECONSEC). And one month later a well-known *Aguaruna* leader who had defended Aguaruna lands from invaders for a whole decade, Damian Tibijam, was killed at gunpoint range by an unknown person. Indian leaders have also been killed in the Andean region. On 25 April, 25 soldiers on the pretext of fighting guerrilla forces, invaded the quechua community Ccasichui, in the Chumbivilcas province, Department of Cusco. After having tortured the inhabitants of the Indian community, the soldiers killed 14 persons, raped the women, and killed the cattle of the community. Afterwards, the soldiers went to the Accacco community, also Quechua, as well as to other communities where they threatened the Indian people if they did not inform on their political affiliation to the army.

Representatives of the *Secoya* Indians arrived at Iquitos on 8 October, after 15 days going down the river, where they denounced that timber dealers from Colombia have forcibly occupied lands of the *Secoya, Huitoto, and Cocamas* Indians on the Peruvian side. Secoya leaders also denounced that the Colombian Mafia forces Peruvian Indians to work in illegal coca plantations in Colombia.

Peruvian Indians from the Amazon area have held several meetings where they have discussed their situation, as well as elaborated guidelines to defend Indian communities at different levels. In May, the Co-ordinating Body of the Indian Organizations of the Alto Amazonas (COIPAA), held an Assembly in San Lorenzo, in the Department of Loreto. The Assembly decided to revindicate the traditional Indian medicine and the use of medical plants, and to form a team of traditional doctors in order to organize health programmes in Indian communities. Furthermore, efforts will be made to establish educational centres in Indian communities. In October, the II (Second) National Meeting of Indian Students from the Amazon (CEIAP) was held in the town of Puerto Maldonado (Madre de Dios). The main objective of the meeting was to study major indigenous and national issues according to the education framework of the students. In November, different groups living in the frontier areas with Peru, Colombia, and Brazil, held its III (Third) Congress. These groups have organized themselves in the Federation of Native Communities of Frontier areas of the Putumayo region (FECONAFROPU). At the end of the year, the Aguaruna and Huambisa Council (CAH), one of the oldest indigenous organizations of the Peruvian jungle, held its XXXIV Assembly. CAH's Assemblies are held twice a year, and they gather about 150 delegates representing the 92 Indian communities affiliated under CAH.

In the northern part of **Brazil**, the *Yanomami* Indians continue to die as a result of the diseases brought by the "garimpeiros" (gold-seekers) and the lack of medical help provided by the Brazilian government. Furthermore, confrontations between armed garimpeiros and unarmed Yanomami have resulted in the death of many Yanomami. According to CCPY (The Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park) a mortality rate of 68% was registered in a Yanomami community in the Serra de Surucucus, and 53% in another. At the same time, there was a notoriously small percentage of children under one year in the majority of the communities. The impact of such high death rates was seen in three communities in the Paapiu region, where around 30% of the Yanomami said they had lost between one and five near relatives over the past two years.

By the end of the year the Government had not improved the situation of the Yanomami despite the hopes given by President Collor de Mellor to the contrary. First of all, the Yanomami territory has not been demarcated as one continuous unit, and the Collor government has not revoked the decrees signed under the Sarney Government dividing the lands of the Yanomami into 19 isolated areas. Secondly, the garimpeiros have not been expelled and no measures have been taken to protect Yanomami lands from further invasions. In addition, the clandestine and illegal air strips built by the garimpeiros have not been dynamited as the Government promised to do before the elections on 3 October.

During 1990, Davi Kopenawa Yanomami, the internationally best well-known Yanomami representative, has addressed international institutions such as the United Nations, and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights asking them to protect the human rights of his people. Furthermore, he has succeeded in uniting support organizations in defence of the

Yanomami which are now asking that the Yanomami territory to be demarcated as a continuous area and the boundaries be defended; that the garimpeiros be removed from the Yanomami territory; and, that a comprehensive health plan be organized. Davi Kopenawa Yanomami continues to ask support from the international society not to let his people die. International support in defence of the Yanomami people is being coordinated by the CCPY.

In the Rio Negro area; to the west of Yanomami land, the Federation of the Indigenous Organizations of the Rio Negro (FOIRN), protested against the demarcation of their lands as "indigenous areas" despite the opposition of all communities involved. The Indian poeple of the Rio Negro area has asked repeatedly to the government to demarcate Indian lands in continuous areas. During the sessions of the FOIRN Assembly in March, the delegates complained about the lack of support, especially in connection with education and health, by FUNAI (the state organ for the protection of Indians). The Assembly made an official statement asking that FUNAI be dismantled, and the demarcation changed into continuous areas as requested by all Indian nations of the region.

On 9 May, military forces forced 123 *Tukano* Indians, including women and children, to move out of their garimpo in the Serra de Trair. The reasons given by the military was that there was narcotics trafficking and illegal gold trafficking in the area. In addition, the military said that the area located inside the indigenous area of Pari Cachoeira III, was not indigenous but an area of national security. The soldiers dismantled the Indian garimpo, destroying all the equipment, burned all the houses, and cut off the direct radio line to FUNAI so that the Indians could not inform FUNAI on the military invasion of Indian lands. Later in the year, Indian leaders of the Indigenous Association of the Tiquie river (UCIRT) decided to denounce the army before the National Court of Justice.

Also in May, representatives of the Union of Indian Nations (UNI), met with the Minister of the Environment, Jose Lutzemberger. The Indian leaders asked the Government to create a special office to take care of Indian affairs, directly under the Presidency. The new office would replace FUNAI, the state organ for the protection of Indians, which has been frequently criticised for being ineffective in protecting Indian rights. A new President of FUNAI, Candido Guimaraes, retired official of the air forces and candidate to the FUNAI's Presidency by the Minister of Justice, was appointed on 17 August. According to reliable indigenous sources, the new President of FUNAI has been accused of authorizing the illegal extraction of timber in indigenous lands in 1987. Marcos Terena, representative of UNI said that the appointment of Guimaraes is against the interests of the Indians, and that the new President will only favour timber extraction and gold interests.

The Permanent Peoples' Court, an international forum for discussing human rights, but whose decisions have no juridical relevance, met in Paris on 16 October, in order to discuss the situation in the Amazon. Brazilian Indians representing the *Yanomami*, the *Surui*, and other Amazonian nations,

UNI leader Ailton Krajnak (flanked by Yanomami leaders in photo), has recently met with the Brazilian Minister of the Environment Jose Lutzemberger, to create a special office of Indian Affairs replacing FUNAI, which is to sort directly under the Presidency. (Photo: Claudia Andujar, CCPY)

participated at the meeting. The President of the Court, the Belgian Jurist Francois Rigaux, stated that the destruction of the Amazon was caused by an economic model imposed on Indian peoples and which was contrary to their interests. Multilateral lending institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, and the industrialized nations "in complicity" with Brazilian authorities, said Rigaux, were responsible for the destructive model used in the Amazon. The Court also criticised the European Community (EEC) and the World Bank for financing the construction of a steel mill in the Carajas region which will not benefit the Indian groups of the area. The conclusions of the Peoples' Court were, among other things, to suggest to the international lending institutions to be more attentive to the ecological and social consequences of the projects they finance. The Court suggested to the Brazilian Government, to "..guarantee all the constitutional rights of the Indians, in particular the exclusive use of the lands on which they live".

On 15 August, about 750 Indian people in **Bolivia** left their homes in a rainforest region located in the eastern part of the country, to initiate a 34-day march to la Paz. The march called "March for Dignity and Territory" was organised by the Center of the Indigenous Peoples of the Beni area (CPIB). Men, women, and children, walked 750 km from their rainforest to the highlands at 1 600 metres over sea-level where temperatures usually dip to under zero, to claim their right to their lands and the immediate withdrawal of logging firms operating in their lands. The *Chimanes* are specially suffering due to logging operations in their lands. During the last decade, logging companies have operated in the eastern part of Bolivia without taking into consideration the existence and way of life of the Indian people in the area. It has been estimated that if the logging continues as it does now, by the year 2 000, the 558 000 km² of Bolivian rainforest will be reduced to half its original size.

The Bolivian Government finally agreed to study the possibilities to recognise the lands and social rights of the indigenous peoples. The Minister of Agriculture met with the marchers offering them a settlement which met most of the indigenous demands particularly the land rights of the *Suriono* Indians and the *Chimanes* and other groups living in the Isiboro Secure Park.

Three days after their arrival to La Paz, the marchers accepted an intermediate solution between their demands to remove the logging companies immediately, and the proposal of the Government asking time to negotiate with both parties. One of the most important promises of the government is that indigenous lands within the Isiboro Secure Park and the Central Chimane jungle be declared as indigenous territories. Furthermore, logging companies with concessions may only continue their operations until the end of October.

Land rights continue to be one of the most serious problems for the indigenous peoples in **Paraguay**. The arguments used not to respect indigenous land rights are centered around the notion that the land belongs to whomever works it. However, the concept of "work the land" is defined as intensive and extensive agricultural work, and it does not include the indigenous use of land which combines hunting and gathering activities with agricultural work. Professional supporters of indigenous rights in Paraguay, notably the Director of the Center for Humanitarian Studies, Esther Prieto, and the Co-ordinator of the Association of Socio-Anthropological and Juridical Professional Services, Balbino Vargas Zarate, have proposed several modifications to the Statute of Indigenous Communities (Law 904 of 1981).

Within the framework of a 1990 Campaign against Ethnocide, Indian leaders, support organizations, and members of the Professional Services Association, have discussed the critical situation of the *Mby'a* Indians. The traditional lands of the *Mby'a Guarani* Indians are located in the Departments of Caazapá, Guairá, Itapuá, and Caaguazú, locations where the government is implementing the Caazapá Integrated Rural Development Project, with funds from the World Bank. The lands of the Mby'a Indians are not yet demarcated and in addition, the lands are being invaded by settlers and extractive multinational firms. In the process, the Mby'a are seeing their lands reduced to an extent that subsistence is no longer possible. Furthermore, under the device of "divide and rule", the Government is granting lands to Mby'a groups which are claimed as traditional lands by other Mby'a groups. This governmental policy has divided Mby'a leaders who are seeing their leadership questioned by their people. Supporters of Indian rights are requesting the World Bank to live up to its responsibilities as an international

Bolivian Indians from the highlands. In 1990, some 750 rainforest dwelling Bolivians undertook a 34-day march to La Paz to demand their right to lands and withdrawal of logging operatios. (Photo: ILO)

funding institution and see to it that the human rights of the Mby'a indians are respected by the government.

The *Pai Tavy-Tera* Indians of the community of Guyrapare, in the Department of Concepcion, denounced before the Indigenous Paraguayan Institute (INDI) that their lands had been invaded by settlers. The community received the legal titles to their lands in June this year (title no. 148.758, Act No. 7/90, page 51); however, the settlers rejected the validity of the titles. INDI representatives travelled to the community and asked the settlers to leave, but they refused to leave on the grounds that Francisca Soria, an ex-nun living in the region had given them "permission" to settle in the Guyrapare community. The INDI has informed the Pai Tavy-Tera to solve the problem.

In **Argentina** the question of indigenous land-rights has become the priority among indigenous demands. A large part of indigenous peoples are classified as peasant communities, and this is not in agreement with indigenous land rights and use of land. Furthermore, the demarcation of Indian lands in Argentina is extremely slow, and according to the Indigenous Association of Argentina (AIRA), Indian territorial demands presented for the first time to the Government of Argentina in the 1920's, have not yet been dealt with. This is also the case of other Indian land demands, such as the cases of the *Kolla* communities Santiago, Vizcarra and Santa Magdalena, located in Salta, in a farm known as Santa Victoria. These communities are still waiting for a governmental resolution to the land claims they placed before the authorities of the period, in 1874. The history of these communities has been denounced by AIRA at the United Nations in August 1990, because the lands of the communities have been sold at an public auction and the Argentinian authorities have not regarded as necessary, informing the communities so affected.

In the Rio Negro Province, several *Mapuche* communities are going to be forcibly relocated due to the construction of the Piedra del Aguila dam, which will inundate an indigenous reserve of 116 000 hectares which was created in the middle of the 1970s. The dam forms part of a huge hydroelectric scheme designed to generate 10% of the total amount of energy distributed in the country. The government has not fulfilled its promises to

Representatives of the Mapuche from Chile. They held a First National Conference of the Mapuche nation in April 1990 which assembled 200 leaders from the community. (Photo: Chilean Commission of Human Rights) relocate the displaced persons prior to the functioning of the dam. The Council of Indigenous Advisers (CAI) is advising the Mapuche communities to demand, that the dam does not start operating until all the displaced persons have been relocated in their new habitats, as repeatedly promised by the Government of Argentina to the Mapuches.

The Mapuche in **Chile**, in spite of the innumerable obstacles in their struggles for a worthy existence, continue more resolute than ever to defend their rights and raise their historical claims.

All of 1990 and the first months of 1991 were especially important when the First National Conference of authorities and personalities of the Mapuche nation took place in Temuco from 23 to 26 April 1990. This event, known as Wall Mapu Ngulamuwun (Council for all Nations), assembled 200 leaders coming from the whole Mapuche territory. Its characteristics acquire historical relevance because after the Mapuche military defeat in 1885, it was the first and large public meeting that was carried out before the authorities. The Mapuche military defeat ended with a violent war of extermination, the occupation of the territories and subsequently, in 1902, their distribution between Argentina and Chile, under the "legality" of U.K.'s border control. The Conference was convocated by the *Lonkos* (chiefs), the *Machis* (religious authorities) and other traditional authorities. It shows, by the number of the participants, the convoking capacity of the Mapuche leaders, the actuality of their power before the Mapuche nation. However, the Mapuche authorities are neither recognized nor respected by the Huinca (Chileans) authorities but -as was demonstrated- they are respected and recognized by their people as the genuine authorities of the Mapuche society. The Mapuches demand constitutional recognition from the Chilean Government as an indigenous nation inside the state. The rejection of the celebration of 12 October as "Race Day" has been instead substituted with a "Day of Solidarity" with the Mapuche people, as well as the ratification of international settlements related to the protection of Indian rights, especially Convention 169 of the ILO.

In the short term, the aim was to create a Mapuche national flag, to print Mapuche identity cards and passports and to declare June 24 (the Mapuche New Year) as the Mapuche National Day. This event ended with a Nguillatun (religious ceremony) in the hill Nielol, in Temuco, with the participation of about 2 500 people.

With respect to the Mapuche urban organizations, it is important to emphasize the unified effort, based on the cultural diversity and thought, from the National Council of the Aboriginal Peoples which comprise 28 organizations of indigenous peoples of Chile: *Aymaras, Atacamenos, Rapa Nui, Mapuche and Kawashkar*.

In mid-January 1990, a National Congress was held in Temuco: According to the organisers, 250 official delegates were accredited, 50 traditional authorities (*Lonkos, Machis*, etc.) and 40 special guests. Among the conclusions of the Congress was to reaffirm land rights over indigenuous areas; an educational and cultural policy suited to the characteristics of each people; proportional participation of indigenous peoples in state organs; the creation of a national corporation for indigenous development, on a state-wide basis; a solution to social problems; a provisional system according to the characteristics of each nation, and modification of laws that work against the rights of indigenous peoples. The number of participants at the end of the Congress was estimated to be about 5 000.

It is significant to note on the one hand the creation in mid-May 1990 of a Special Commission for Indigenous Peoples (CEPI) by the present government, which will act as Consultant to the President of the Republic in "decisions of governmental policy with respect to ethnic groups in Chile". In spite of the short time after its founding, CEPI has played an important role in the elaboration of the new indigenous law, the process of discussion of which concluded in January this year, at the end of the Indigenous People National Congress with the President of the Republic in attendance.

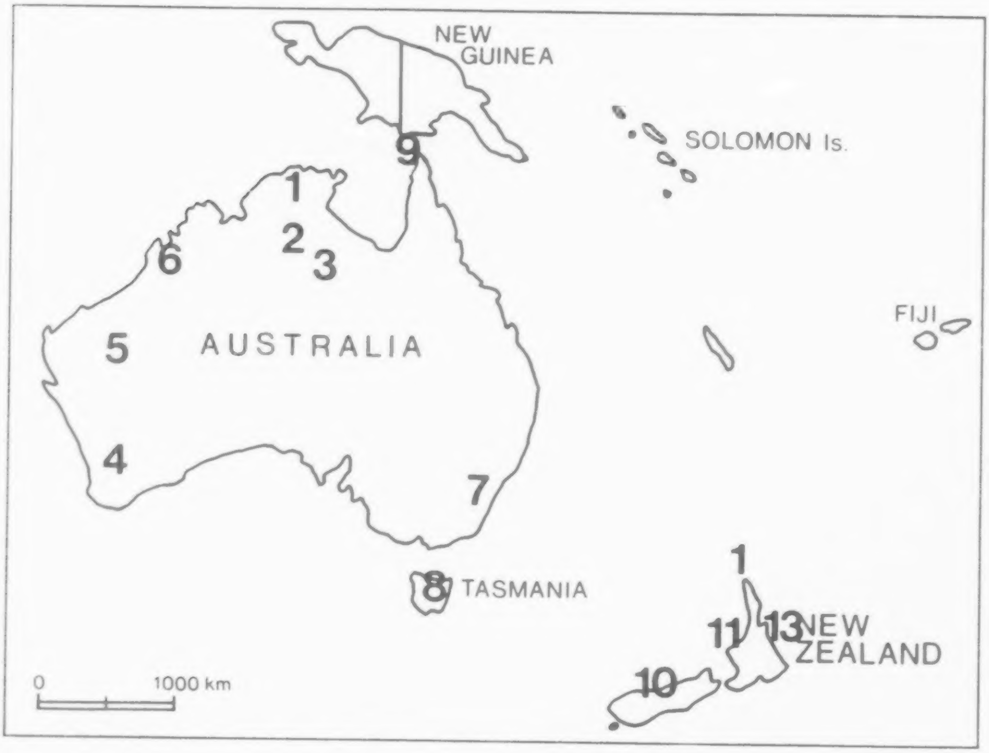
The indigenous people of Chile are especially hopeful about the future of this proposed legislation in the Chilean Parliament. If the law means negative changes to the indigenous peoples' interests, it will be interpreted as an assault against indigenous hopes, the democratic process and the agreement reached between the Mapuche chiefs and the earlier presidential candidate and incumbent President of the Republic, Patricio Alwyn.

In relation to these government measures, the Asst. Secretary of Foreign Relations of Chile, announced in Geneve on 26 February 1991, during the 47th Session of the U.N.'s Human Rights Commission, that "the Government ask the Parliament to approve Convention 169 of the ILO concerning indigenous peoples and tribal peoples in independent countries."

Another important event in the Mapuche world was the presence in October last year in the area of Araucania (Mapuche territory) of King Juan Carlos and his retinue, which was interpreted by the Mapuches as a public relations visit by Spain to Latin America to achieve a festive atmosphere prior to 1992. In a public declaration given on 20 October, a number of indigenous organizations declared, "this visit is realised in a triumphant and festive context of the fifth centenary of the arrival of the Spaniards in America". The numerous activities of denunciation and mobilizations by indigenous organizations, about the arrival of the Spanish in America, and its ill-fated consequences for the indigenous peoples of America, has evoked the solidarity of Chilean students. The Chilean Student Federation, created on 20 October 1990, is an alternative commission to celebrate, from the point of view of "the vanquished" of the 500 years.

Sources: Mapuche Foreign Committee (U.K. section); IPS; CORPI; CONIVE (Venezuela); Unidad Indígena (Peru); AIDESEP (Peru); Comunidades Indigenas (Argentina), Servicios Profesionales Socio-Antropologicos y Juridicos (Paraguay); DIM (Paraguay).

Map of Australia



Australian Aborigine Population: 250,000
Aotearoan Maori Population: 350,000

1. *Barunga, Northern Territory*
2. *Warumungu*
3. *Wakaya/Alyawarre/Waripiri*
4. *Swan Valley*
5. *Rudell Valley*
6. *Broome*
7. *New South Wales*
8. *Tasmania*
9. *Torres Straits*
10. *Ngai Tahu claims*
11. *Taranki*
12. *Murihuena*
13. *Ngaitamarawaho*

AUSTRALIA and AOTEAROA

Australia

In 1988 the Australian Government affirmed that it was committed to work for a negotiated Treaty with the country's Aboriginal people. Nothing has yet come out of these promises, but in 1990 Aborigines entered a new step in the "process of reconciliation", as the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs told the Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva. He was referring to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), which came into existence on 5 March this year.

ATSIC is a national body composed of 17 elected Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and 3 Government-appointed persons. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission is elected by 60 regional indigenous councils which held their first elections in November. The regional councils are grouped into 17 zones, each sending a representative to ATSIC. The establishment of ATSIC is meant to replace the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and the Aboriginal Development Corporation. Thus, it is not a body for self-government, but "a kind of bureaucratic service organisation to administer policies drawn up by White politicians or by the old officers from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs who man ATSIC", acoording to critics. On the other hand, ATSIC will be the most representative Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisation established in Australia up till now.

Each of the regional councils will formulate a regional plan for improving the economic, social and cultural status of the Aboriginals. The councils will assist, advise and cooperate with Commonwealth, State and local authorities and make proposals for Commonwealth expenditures.

It is far too early to say how the regional Councils and the Commission will develop in fulfilling Aboriginal aspirations. No Aboriginal campaign for or against it is being conducted, although the major Land Councils urged the Commonwealth Government to proceed with it, and it is not clear whether all Land Councils and other Aboriginal-controlled organisations agreed to this. In the United Nation's Working Group on Indigenous Population (WGIP), a representative of the National Coalition of Aboriginal Organisations stressed that ATSIC "cannot and should not be considered our political voice", it "does not consider our self-determination in any matter" and "the Minister has the ultimate say and decision, and can dismiss any of the Commissioners should he so desire".

These new bodies have no resources of their own, but rely on allocated money distributed among aboriginal organisations; thus, the burden of saying *yes* or *no*, relies on ATSIC. This should be compared with the fact that the structure does not confer any economic check-and-balance or accountability to Aboriginal societies. Another restriction is limitations in appointing staff members. A criticism which has been raised is that people had to be on the Commonwealth electoral roll to vote for or be nominated for ATSIC.

On the other hand, the structure gives Aborigines an opportunity to lobby and to put pressure on the governments and it provides an opportunity to learn about the political and bureaucratic structure.

Stockman of the central Northern territory. In Australia, the aboriginals are up against environmental onslaught as well as police brutality.
(Photo: Rikki Shields)

The primary functions of the regional Councils seem to be to formulate plans for improving the economic, social and cultural status of Aborigines in their respective regions and to allocate to various agencies the funds provided by the Commonwealth government through the Commission. The Councils have no executive functions, but can assist, advise and cooperate.

The prospect is that the ATSIC structure can develop to be responsible and accountable to Aboriginal-elected bodies. In this perspective, ATSIC might be seen as a first step on the road to an Aboriginal structure of local and regional government within the Commonwealth.

In Queensland, Australia's proposed spaceport site on the Cape York Peninsula has faced opposition from environmental groups and Aboriginal communities. An eventual establishment of the spaceport will have serious impact on the environment and for the 8 000 to 10 000 Aboriginals living on the peninsula. Although Aboriginals make up a majority of the Cape York population, they have almost no control over land use decisions. An environmental impact report is expected at the end of 1991, but Aboriginal elders have proposed a 5-year moratorium.

In order to defend their rights against a massive development of spaceport, mining, oil exploration etc., aboriginal people throughout Cape York Peninsula have formed a new land council, the Cape York Aboriginal Land Council.

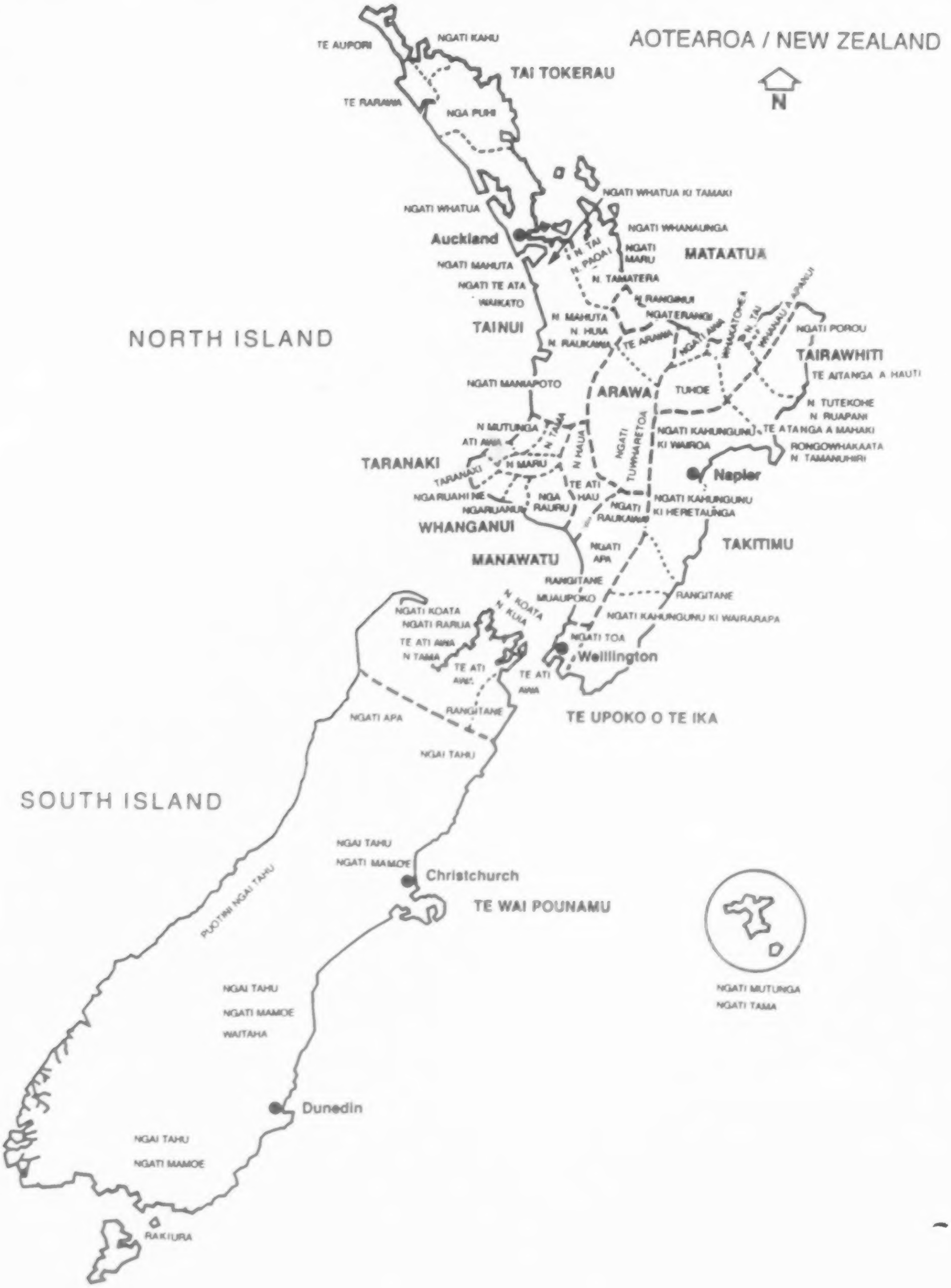
On 8 February, 135 police officers in Redfern, Sydney, conducted an early morning raid against Koori peoples. Iron bars and sledge hammers were used to gain entry into houses, and children and elders were hauled out of bed with shotguns at their heads. Only 10 persons were arrested on minor charges. It was a case of police armed with shotguns and batons sent in to catch a few petty criminals. The police maintain that the raid was carried out to find drugs, firearms and car thieves. However, another explanation could be that the Kooris are living on some of the richest land in Sydney which could be developed if they were forced out.

Also in New South Wales a State Government-initiated report, the Perkins Report, recommended the abolition of the New South Wales Aboriginal Land Council as well as the regional land councils, as established under the NSW Aboriginal Land Rights Act of 1983. The NSW Aboriginal Land Council sees the proposal to merge the Aboriginal Affairs Office with the Land Council structure as a way to silence the independent voice of the Aboriginal community. John D.B. Williams from the NSW Aboriginal Land Council says that

> "It is incomprehensible to accept that a community, which is nearly unanimous in their suspicions of the Aboriginal Affairs Office, should suddenly desire to merge with it, and place their own sacrosanct land claims and holdings in the hands of this organisation administered by a ministerial appointee, albeit with regional indigenous commissioners with mere advisory portfolios"

In South Australia, the Pitjantjatjara people from Maralinga can look forward to be able to return to their homeland, from which they were evicted in the 1950s. In 1956 the British carried out 12 nuclear tests on this land and 3 000 km^2 of Pitjantjatjara land was made prohibited area. The Federal Government has now promised to clean up 100 km^2 of plutonium contaminated land which opens for the return of the aboriginal landowners to Maralinga. The people of Central Australia won back 103 000 km^2 of their land in 1981 with the passing of the Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act, and in 1984 the Maralinga Tjarutja Land Rights Act returned land to those Pitjantjatjara in the Maralinga area.

The protection of sacred sites is continously a most important issue to Aborigines. In Western Australia the "Fringe Dwellers of the Swan Valley" have continued to fight the State Government's move to push ahead with a scaled-down plan to restore the old Swan Brewery in Perth. The Aborigines insist that the plan upsets the dreaming track of the river serpent, the Wagyl. The Western Australia Museum's Aboriginal cultural material committee recommended that the development of the brewery site be scrapped because of the site's significance to Aborigines. However, the Premier of Western Australia, Carmen Lawrence, who is also State Minister of Aboriginal Affairs exercised her rights under the Aboriginal Heritage Act to reject the committee's recommendation and the development of the Old Brewery site may go ahead. Following this decision a spokesman of the "Fringe Dwellers" announced that they were likely to establish a permanent camp at the site, but the Premier warned that this would not be tolerated. Thus, the protection of this, as well as many other sacred sites remains uncertain.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Aotearoa

The most significant event in 1990 was the 150th anniversary of the Waitangi Treaty which was signed on 6 February 1840. The Waitangi Treaty was signed by representatives of the Maori people who, at that time, by far made up the majority of the population of the Aotearoa islands, and Captain William Hobson representing the British Crown. The Treaty guaranteed Maori chieftainship, protected Maori possessions of land, forests, fisheries and other properties and Maori were granted the rights and privileges as British subjects. But Maori also ceded sovereignty/governership (kawanatanga) to the British Crown.

The Treaty was signed in Maori and in English and it is obvious that there are serious discrepancies of interpretation between the two. For the White society it has been an instrument whereby sovereignty was established and used to seize and alienate the country and its resources from its indigenous inhabitants. The Maori tribes, however, saw the Treaty as an instrument to protect their rights and to obtain the benefits as British citizens.

History has shown that the Maori have been removed and alienated from their lands and lost their political and cultural independence. Like the Aborigines in Australia, the Maori in Aotearoa endure many of the same adverse conditions like high crime rates, infant mortality, endemic health problems, etc. While Maori comprise 12 percent of the total population and 7 percent of the labour force, they have 22 percent of the unemployed.

The anniversary was celebrated by White New Zealand, but many Maori went to Waitangi to protest at the failure of successive governments to honour the Treaty. In 1975 the Government passed the Treaty of Waitangi Act (amended later) which established the Waitangi Tribunal to consider grievances arising under the Treaty and make recommendations to the Government. The Tribunal can now examine claims back to 1840 and recommend the return to Maori ownership of any land or interest in land transferred to a State Enterprise.

Despite the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, injustices are mostly not being redressed, and even today land is being illegally and violently seized from Maori tribes. The seizure of the sacred site of Maioro south of the city Auckland gives evidence about this process.

Located on the North head of the Waikato River, Maioro was the main burial site of the Waikato people for hundreds of years. Their dead were brought up the river from all over the Waikato. The bodies were then placed in the sandhills in shallow graves, where the wind and the sand would eventually cover them. Thousands of the ancestors of the Ngati-Te-Ata tribe are buried at Maioro and for that reason the whole of Maioro is considered to be sacred.

In 1969, New Zealand Steel started the mining of ironsands at Maioro, and mining rights have later been given to the Australian Broken Hill Proprietary. The sale disregarded 1985 recommendations from the Waitangi Tribunal that there should be a negotiated settlement of the claim regarding the acquisition of the land; it recommended a review of the New Zealand Steel mining license. Even these very moderate recommendations were not acted upon by the Government.

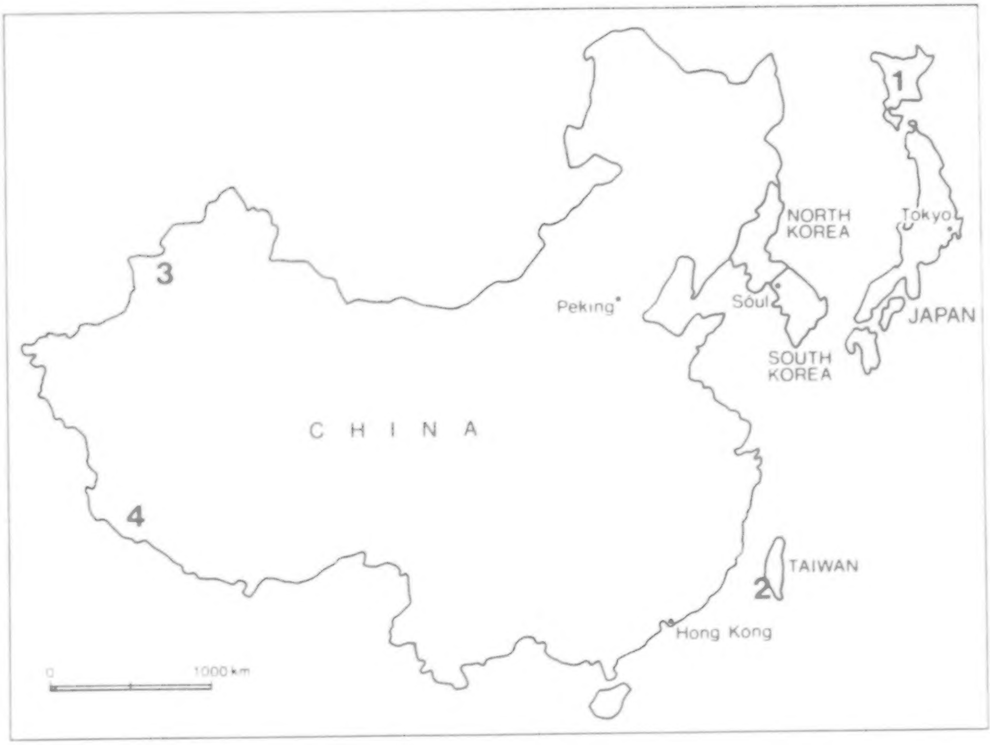
The Ngati-Te-Ata tribe has taken the case to hearings, to tribunals, to courts, to the Government and to the United Nations, but still their sacred place continues to be desecrated. As a last remedy they set up a camp at the entrance to the iron sand mine.

Matters were brought to a head later in the year when human bones were found and identified on a conveyor belt from the mine to the mill. Work was stopped, only to be resumed on 15 May. That action was described by a spokesperson for Ngati-Te-Ata as highly provocative and led to new blockading of the gate. The company responded by calling in the police who arrested 6 people. At the same time the Government invited the company as well as the Ngati-Te-Ata tribe for further negotiations.

In the Federal elections in October, Maori communities were urged not to vote, but instead to sign a register for Maori sovereignty. The purpose of the boycott was to give attention to issues still to be honoured by the Treaty of Waitangi. Unofficial figures suggest that a large majority of Maori refused to vote, and signed the sovereignty register instead.

Sources:(AAR Newsletter; Aboriginal Law Bulletin; Anthropology Today; CARE Newsletter; H.C.Coombs; Land Rights News; Pacific Concerns Resource Centre; Pacific News Bulletin; statements to UNWGIP; the West Australian).

Map of East Asia



Indigenous population of East Asia, 67 million

1. *Ainu*
2. *Yami*
3. *Uighur*
4. *Tibetans*

EAST ASIA

In **Tibet,** which has been annexed illegally to China for some 40 years now, 1990 did not bring improvements for the suppressed Tibetan people. The lifting of martial law in Lhasa on 1 May only meant that armed police forces were substituted for the soldiers. The week before, about 200 monks and nuns were expelled from their monasteries on alledged charges of political activism. Small-scale demonstrations continued throughout the year followed by arrests and torture. From 15 September to 15 October, an alert was imposed on Lhasa. Shows of military strength were a warning to the Tibetan population not to demonstrate. The compulsory indoctrination meetings were intensified.

The gravity of Chinese attempts to exercise control over the Tibetans was underlined by the demolition of 10% of the old Tibetan part of Lhasa at the beginning of the year, and the reconstruction along the straight and widened streets. The Tibetan part of Lhasa now only covers 2% of the city.

As a first step in an attempt by Tibet's exiled Head of State, H H Dalai Lama to democratize the exile community, the *Kashag*, the Tibetan government in exile, submitted its resignation on 9 May 1990. 3 new ministers were elected by the Assembly of Tibetan Peoples Deputies to form an interim government. The more than 50 000 adult Tibetan refugees will elect their first democratic government in the beginning of 1991.

Gutsa prison located 6 kilometres from Lhasa. The so-called "lifting of martial law" only meant that armed police forces were being substituted for soldiers. (Photo: Anders Højmark Andersen)

In 1990, Tibet has been a major focus in international politics. During 23 - 24 April, the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament held a hearing on human rights in Tibet. One of the practical outcomes of the hearing was the appointment of a rapporteur to collect information about human rights in Tibet. China has refused to allow the rapporteur to visit Tibet. The hearing finally took place after having been cancelled for a period of time because of serious Chinese threats to break ties with the European Community.

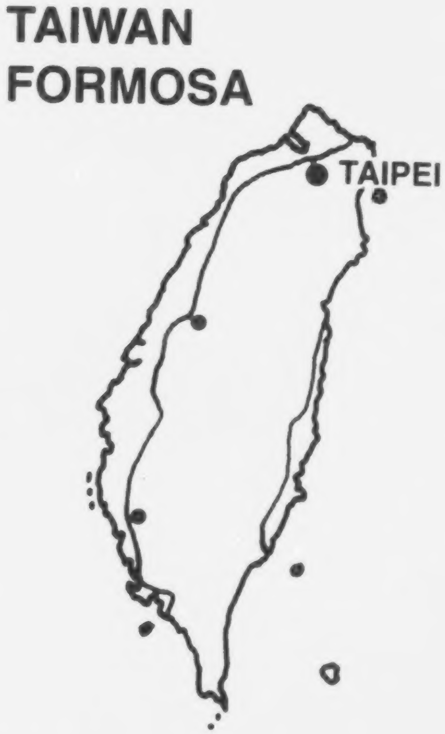
At an international conference in London on 6 - 8 July, the participants, among them members of Parliament from 17 countries, declared their support for Tibetan independence.

As the first ambassadors ever to visit a prison in Tibet, diplomats from 4 Nordic countries were allowed to visit the Drapchi Prison in Lhasa and talked to a political prisoner during their one-week stay in Tibet in mid-November.

During a visit to New York, the Dalai Lama declared 1991 as the International Year of Tibet.

Sources: Tibet Information Network, London; Tibetan Bulletin, The Tibet Support Committee, Denmark.

Map of Taiwan.



There are currently reported to be about 350 000 indigenous people in **Taiwan**, today a small minority of less than two percent of the population, dominated by the Chinese majority. The Taiwan aboriginal population is divided into ten distinct indigenous peoples; the *Amis, Tayal, Taroko, Saisiat, Tsao, Bumun, Paiwan, Rukai, Punuma and Yami*, each with its own language.

The indigenous peoples, descendants of the aboriginal population who once occupied the entire island, but who today are confined to the mountains and plains on the eastern side of Taiwan, and to the Island of Lanyu, which is the homeland of the Yami people, now live in scattered communities.

In Taiwan, indigenous land rights are not recognized by the government, nor is there any formal recognition of distinct indigenous peoples as such. All ancestral lands have been declared governmental lands, and subsequently have to be leased back by the indigenous communities.

In the case of mountain areas, most of the remaining ancestral indigenous territories remain under direct military jurisdiction and control, with military check points to restrict movements in and out of the mountain reserves. For the plains peoples, mainly the Amis, village lands have been allotted to individuals. In most villages, remaining lands are insufficient for economic support. This has furthered the process of assimilation and cultural dislocation, as individuals are forced by economic necessity to migrate to urban centers, thus splitting them from their families.

Assimilative policy extends to their legal status as indigenous individuals. This status of being indigenous is likely to be lost during reregistration, or marriage into non-indigenous families, whereby a person's legal status will be assumed to be non-indigenous. Through the educational system, integration and assimilation is furthered. The use of indigenous languages are prohibited in the schools, and children subsequently have been physically punished for speaking their mother tongue.

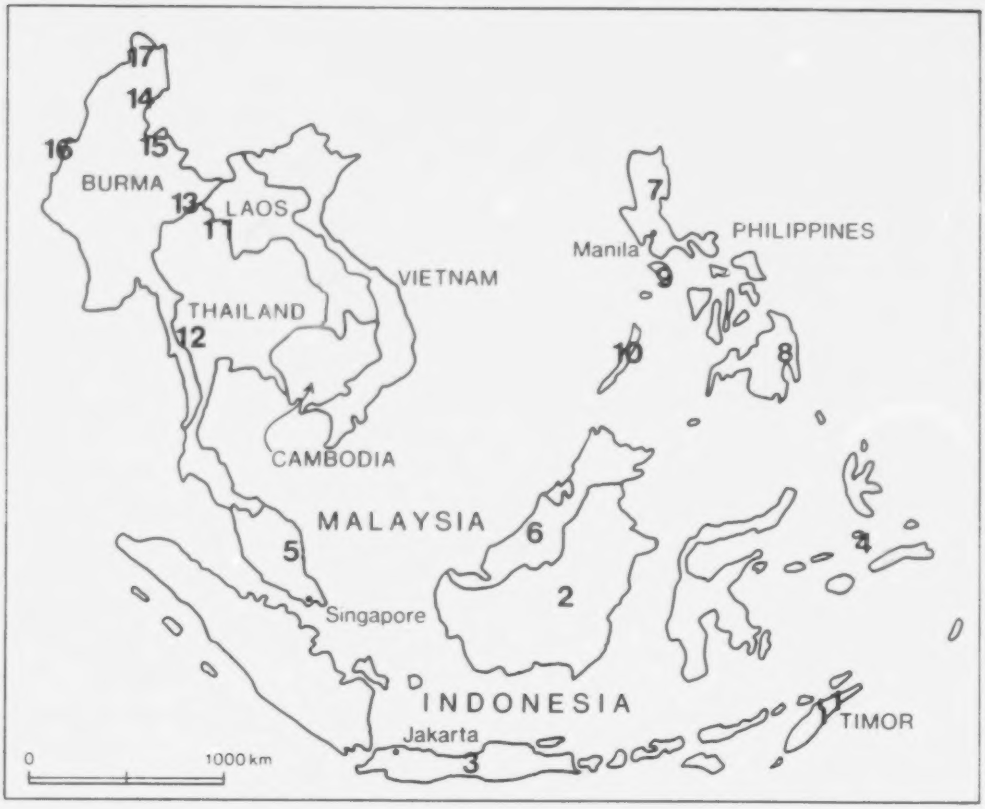
Assimilation policy not only affects the integration of indigenous persons and labour, it is further aimed at the integration of indigenous land into the national economy through the large-scale dispossession of indigenous territories. In the mountain districts, within the reserve areas, formally inalienable recognized indigenous landholdings have been declared national parks, government resource extraction zones, and have given way to hydroelectric development or have been granted for tea plantations or timbering.

Dispossession has also occurred through government relocation programs, which have moved whole communities to areas better suited for production within the framework of the national economy.

On Lanyu Island, the Yami people have continued their struggle against the nuclear waste dump, constructed within a few kilometres of several Yami villages. By 1990, 70 000 barrels of highly toxic nuclear waste have been dumped at the island, and people fear for the destruction of their coastal fishery, and are afraid to eat their crops.

During 1990, the Yami people have been fighting against a government plan to take additional lands in order to double the capacity of the nuclear dump.

Map of Southeast Asia



Indigenous population of Mainland Southeast Asia: 15 million
Indigenous population of the Southeast Asia archipelago: 15 million

1. *East Timor*
2. *Dayaks*
3. *Kedung Omo, Java*
4. *South Moluccas*
5. *Orang Asli*
6. *Sarawak peoples*
7. *Cordillera people*
8. *Mindanao*
9. *Mindoro*
10. *Batak*
11. *Hmong*
12. *Karen*
13. *Akka/Lahu*
14. *Kachin*
15. *Chan/Wa*
16. *Chittagong Hill Tracts*
17. *Nagaland*

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Archipelagic Southeast Asia

In **East Timor,** the human rights situation has been marked by a persistence of reports of extrajudicial killings, disappearances, torture and ill-treatment. Based on Timorese sources, the Lisbon-based *East Timor News* reports on the executions of more than 40 Timorese, and a further 40 cases of disappearances during 1990. In nine cases, Timorese women have been subjected to rape. More than 90 Timorese have been detained during the year, and a further 70 have been tortured and beaten.

In March 1990, four villagers in Lalarek-Mutin were severely beaten by Indonesian troops and forced to make false confessions. On refusal to do so, Candido Amaral was executed by firing squad, an incident later confirmed by army authorities.

During the summer of 1990, a spontaneous campaign of defiance and protest against the Indonesian forces of occupation flourished in the streets of Dili. Groups of young East Timorese (school children - the same age-group as those participating in the Palestinean *intifada*) are showing their dissent, confronting Indonesians with words like "Kapan Pulang?" ("When are you going home ?"). Street fighting has become widespread in Dili, as organized Timorese youth and groups of young Indonesian street gangs, backed by army intelligence, are making their presence felt in the Dili steets.

On 4 September, hundreds of East Timorese demonstrated in Dili in favour of independence during the Catholic mass in Lecideri, attended by more than 20 000 people. On 6-13 September the Indonesian army cracked down on the demonstration with a series of arrests, reportedly accompanied by intimidations and beatings by army personel. (source: *Tapol*).

Since August, a pattern of short-term detention, ill-treatment and torture of political opponents, is found to have gained momentum in East Timor. In an update by Amnesty International (AI) issued in January 1991, AI concludes that at least ten alleged supporters of the FRETILIN movement are still imprisoned, sentenced in trials that, in AI's conclusions, have not been fair.

Border raids by Indonesian troops attacking suspected supporters of OPM, "Free West Papua Movement", claimed the lives of five Papuans on 11-12 August, when Indonesian troops attacked and later burned down the Imnai refugee camp located 1½ kms into Papua New Guinea. Several Papuans were captured, while more than 600 fled to the Yapsei government station from Imnai and other refugee camps, that were being burned down following the Indonesian attacks.

Earlier, in June, a West Papuan woman and her child, living as refugees on the PNG side of the border, reportedly were killed at point-blank range by Indonesian soldiers.

Since late October, when closer military cooperation between Indonesian and PNG border patrols was agreed upon in Yogjakarta, Java, there are reasons to fear for the future of West Papuan refugees temporarily

Timorese children. (Photo: Elaine Briere) seeking shelter on the PNG side of the border. The new agreement may forewarn intensified counter-insurgency operations of Indonesian security forces from within Papua New Guinea, and may lead to mass repatriation of refugees, many of whom have been living in PNG since 1984, when a mass exodus of thousands of villagers fled their homes from atrocities committed by Indonesian troops in the Mindiptanah district. (source: *Tapol Bulletin* 101 & 102).

In Sarawak, **Malaysia,** indigenous communities have been facing arrests and police harassments since 1988, when peoples such as the *Penan, Iban, Kenyah, Kayan and Kelabit* staged the first of the human barricades to block illegal encroachment of timber companies into their Native Customary Lands.

One of the main issues during 1990 has been the high court decision in the case of native Kayan communities against logging companies and the Sarawak state government. The court's decision is likely to set precedence to the responses of the legal system toward *Orang Ulu* claims to customary land rights.

In Sarawak, the indigenous claims to customary land rights are based on the Sarawak Land Code, that recognizes native rights to lands held by indigenous communities at the terminal day of 1 January 1958.

Section 5(2) of the Land Code establishes that native customary rights are recognized if they, prior to this date have been acquired by either felling of virgin jungle, planting of fruit trees in the jungle, using of land for burial ground or shrines, using lands for rights of way, or by any other lawful method.

According to the legal intervention on behalf of the Kayan communities, the social and cultural practices related to the use by communities of common properties such as virgin forest, are as the exactly mentioned "lawful methods" outlined in section 5 (2) of the Land Code. Through the social norms regulating the access to, and sharing of forest products such as medicines, or fish from the river, the indigenous communities have had vested rights to the primary forests. As noticed by the leading council of the Kayan, it is a mere presumption, when looking at the law, to think that it does not intend to confiscate or extinguish vested rights. To do so however, a specific legislation is required to repeal existing rights.

However, the High Court decided against the indigenous claims, based on the conclusion that the Kayan communities took action too late, when they brought to court the question of customary land rights to primary forest lands, presently invaded by logging companies.

In 1951, the colonial government at the time decided to convert customary lands into a "Protected Forest Reserve". According to the Kayan, the implications of this decision, that the forests as a matter of decree had been integrated into the national economic development, and that future land alienations had been established by the decision, had never been explained to any of the Kayan community leaders.

The court further decided against the case brought forward by the counsel of the Kayan, that the granting of timber licences was unconstitutional, as it resulted in depriving the indigenous persons of their right to their means of livelihood. The court overruled this argument, and instead explicitly confirmed the validity of the logging licences, and consequently, of the logging roads encroaching on customary lands.

The court's decision is presently being appealed to the Supreme Court. (**Utusan Konsumer**, mid-April 1990).

In November 1990, the International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO) held their ninth session, which discussed the report of the ITTO mission to Sarawak in 1989/90. In the report, ITTO makes weak recommendations aimed at prolonging the period of commercial logging in Sarawak, but without addressing any of the indigenous complaints at all. As expressed by Juwin Lehan, Chairman of the Penan Association of Sarawak:

> "The resolution fails to address the causes of the problems faced by our people in Sarawak. Our suffering will continue...It seems that only when the timber companies stop working on our land will our rights to land and the resources on it be meaningfully granted, but by then it will be too late. By calling for a stop to the logging on our land, it doesn't mean that we are against development. We welcome any development which is in line with our needs and aspirations...there is nothing much more we need than the land and the resources on which our survival depends.

Unga Paran (middle), a Penan representative, illustrating a point during a meeting with the international press in Copenhagen, accompanied by Mutang, a Kelabit, as well as by the Swiss Bruno Manser who made significant efforts at focusing world attention on the plight of the Penans, after living with them in the rainforests of Sarawak. (Photo: Filomenita Mongaya Høgsholm, IWGIA)

Among the human consequences of logging is an increase in the rate of child malnutrition which can be directly attributed to deforestation, and the subsequent depletion of wildlife and natural food sources. The most recent health surveys (the 1987 study by Paul Chen, the University of Malaysia) found that malnutrition among Penan children was high in recently logged areas (31.4 %) as compared to forested areas (10.9 %). A high level of infectious diseases can be attributed to the concentration of traditionally nomadic people in settled villages (Ron Aspinall, **Cultural Survival Quarterly**, Vol 14 (4) 1990). The Sarawak government has actively encouraged nomadic Penan to settle in villages. Although childhood immunization and malaria control programs have been implemented with some success, the coverage of the community health services was found to be inadequate to counter the greater health hazards from the increase in exposure to infections, occurring from the concentration of peoples in the process of sedentarization. Children have been found not to be fully immunized, resulting in a reportedly high prevalence of infectious diseases such as measles, mumps rubella and diphteria.

During 1990, there have been some indications that plans for the Bakun Dam hydro-electric project are going to be revived, but in a different form, utilizing a system of serial dams. Statements from the Malaysian government that the Bakun Dam Project had been finally scrapped, gained a lot of publicity this year, but according to *Sahabat Alam Malaysia*, the now somewhat altered project to build several dams along the Rejang River, is still going ahead.

On the Malaysian peninsula, land dispossession is the main problem facing the 72 000 indigenous *Orang Asli*. According to the organization POASM, Persatuan Orang Asli Semananjung Malaysia (**Utusan Konsumer**, mid-April 1990), nearly 80 percent of the Orang Asli communities have no legal rights to the lands they have been living in, and working on for centuries. Most have been waiting twenty years or more, for approval of applications to demarcate their village gardens as Orang Asli reserves.

In the mean time, vast rainforest areas, in which the Orang Asli used to harvest rattan, have been cleared. The sale of rattan products have been providing the Orang Asli with one of their few income-raising activities.

A recent study of fourteen Orang Asli villages by the University of Kuala Lumpur, concludes that without the income from rattan collecting, and the collecting of other minor forest products, their standard of living can be expected to drop below subsistence level, and results in the malnutrition of children. Already, the Orang Asli constitute the poorest group in Malaysia.

On the South Pacific island of **Bougainville**, the islanders have been leading a two-year struggle for independence, almost unnoticed by the outside world. Since April 1990, Bougainvilleans have been suffering from the effects of an economic blockade imposed upon the island by neighbouring **Papua New Guinea,** (PNG), who claims control of the island, including its huge copper reserves accounting for 40% of PNG's exports.

Since May 1989, mining has been prevented on the island by a successful campaign of sabotage by Bougainvillean independence supporters.

In May 1990, the Bougainvillean Revolutionary Army (BRA) set up an interim government after announcing a unilateral declaration of independence.

Papua New Guinea's military response to the conflict during the years of 1989-1990 has been severe, including incidences of indiscriminate shelling of coastal settlements on Bougainville since August 1990. An account from the village of Manob (quoted in **The Canberra Times** from 24 Dec 1990 by Matthew Spriggs) reports that the entire village was completely ruined by constant shelling and heavy mortar from PNG patrol boats.

The period of 1989-90 has further witnessed a pattern of human rights abuses, primarily occurring under the state of emergency proclaimed during the military counter-insurgency operation against the Bougainville Revolutionary Army. Documentation of the pattern of abuses which is provided by Amnesty International (November 1990) notes that apparently at least nineteen people have been killed by security forces, or have died after torture. Documentation includes the cases of more than 50 people who have been subjected to torture from PNG forces.

The PNG strategy to suppress the Bougainvillean independence movement has further included the blockade of essential medical supplies and medical services, as an integral part of the general economic blockade. The health situation has further been aggravated by the collapse of communications and transport systems during the blockade, making access by patients to remaining health care impossible.

In a report to the International Commission of the Red Cross, dated 26 Dec 1990 (quoted in **Bougainville Information Service**), Bishop John Zale, Minister for Health in the interim government of Bougainville, outlines the rapid deterioration of health services on the island and the subsequent appalling increase in illness and deaths.

Since January 1990, mortality from malaria (200 deaths) have shown a 182% increase from the 1989 figures. During the same period, the fatal lack of essential rehydration fluids and other anti-diarrheal drugs have led to a 15 - 20% increase in the mortality from gastroenteritis (the leading children killer) among children under the age of five. The present collapse of the mother-child health care system, and the absence of appropriate facilities has aggravated the rate of maternal deaths during delivery (52 deaths reported) which has had a 96% increase. An alarming high prevalence of respiratory related deaths, accounting for 70% of the reported deaths during 1990, can further be attributed to the absence of treatment drugs.

The situation outlined above continued throughout 1990. By 23 January however, some hope emerged for an improvement of the situation and a peaceful solution to the conflict, with the signing of the Honiara Declaration.

The said declaration provides for the formation of a multinational supervisory team to act as a peace-keeping force (expected to be composed by military and police forces from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, the

Solomon Islands and Vanuatu (source: **Far Eastern Economic Review**, 7 Feb 1991).

The root causes of the conflict however, remain unsolved so far, as the declaration is deferring the issue of Bougainville's political status to a later round of talks.

In attempts to suppress more than years of widespread rebellion and protest in Aceh, North Sumatra, **Indonesia** has doubled its number of troops in the area to 12 000.

In November 1990, Indonesian armed forces initiated a campaign of mass killings, acting on the orders of the regional military commander, who is quoted to have told the local population to take part in the mass killings campaign against the Aceh-Sumatra National Liberation Front (GPK) in the following way: "if you meet GPK members, you should kill them. No need to investigate...Just shoot them or knife them. I have told people to arm themselves with sharp weapons, matchetes or whatever. If you encounter the GPK, just kill them." (Major-general Premano in an interview with **Tempo**, 17 Nov 1990 as quoted by *Tapol Urgent Action*).

A Reuters correspondent who visited the area, wrote on 23 Nov 1990 (**ibid**) of hundreds of Achenese being rounded up and taken to detention centres, of hundreds of unidentified corpses that were discovered, and of hundreds of people who have disappeared.

An account of the atrocities is given in **The Economist** (15 Dec 1990):

> "Some soldiers admit to killing unarmed people and leaving their corpses in public places as a "counter-terrorist" measure...a senior army doctor puts the toll at more than a thousand. Mutilated corpses litter the roadsides and ditches. Most of the victims are local civilians, though several members of the security forces and some of the rebels have also been killed."

Tapol, quoting the Aceh National Liberation Front details, the various means of torture implemented by the Indonesian army, including electric shock, rape of women, mutilation of various bodily parts including sexual organs, nailing down the hands as in the crucifixion, immersing the victim in boiling water, hanging the victim upside down or placing the victim in filthy water for hours or days.

1990 has been a year of intense crisis as far as indigenous peoples in the **Philippines** are concerned. The **total war** policy of the Cory Aquino government was implemented this year, with more vicious military operations in several indigenous peoples' communities, as the government has set 1992 as their deadline for licking the local insurgency problem. With only two years left, the military is under pressure to produce results, even if this will mean committing human rights violations against indigenous peoples.

Indeed, the fifth year of President Aquino's six-year term has passed without bringing the country's indigenous peoples closer to the realization of the constitutional guarantees for their rights as contained in the 1986 "Freedom Charter". After the drafting of the organic acts without consultating

The ***total war*** *policy of the Aquino administration has resulted in thousands of internal refugees where children comprise the bulk. Photo shows a Teduray family in Maguindanaw who has fled from attacks by logging guards.*
(Photo: LUMAD MINDANAW)

the ranks of the indigenous in the Cordillera or the Moro peoples in Mindanao, plebescites were held in these regions. But as these obviously did not reflect the aspirations of indigenous peoples, they were overwhelmingly rejected. In the Cordillera, all provinces except Ifugao were against the draft while in Mindanao, the government proceeded to create the Muslim Mindanao Autonomous Region composed of three provinces out of 13 that voted for the Organic Act. In 1990 the Aquino government's attempt to impose further its brand of regional autonomy has failed.

The insincerity of the national government has become so obvious to the people because while it talks about granting regional autonomy,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

simultaneously vicious military operations like Oplan Salidummay in the Cordillera are launched, as well as in Mindanao. It talks about recognizing ancestral domain, but at the same time it grants mining and logging concessions and energy projects to foreign multinational corporations and local business people.

Countless instances of state-run development projects and private enterprise resource extraction activities on indigenous territories during recent years have prompted the National Federation of Indigenous Peoples (KAMP, Kalipunan ng mga Katutubong Mamamayan ng Pilipinas) to launch a nationwide "Campaign Against Development Aggression" last January, in which it called for broad support from the ranks of domestic NGOs and the public. Many of the controversies around such projects have lingered on, while some new ones have cropped up in the course of the year.

The tug-of-war around the projected geothermal plants on Mt. Apo in south-central Mindanao, heavily opposed by nine tribes in the region, has continued. After the World Bank had opted to withhold its credit for the project the year before, oppositionists have been able to muster additional support from a committee of the Philippine Senate which demanded the immediate termination of the project this year. The proposed plants not only violate indigenous rights but also existing national law since the site is part of a National Park. The PNOC (Philippine National Oil Company), the implementing agency however, seems to be bent on continuing the project, exerting considerable pressure on local *Lumad* communities on the one hand, and on the executive branches of the government on the other. The Lumad fear that a resumption of construction activities is imminent. According to their information, PNOC is only waiting for Pres. Aquino to sign a decree that would segregate the project areas from the National Park, thus legalizing the company's presence on Mt. Apo. The nine tribes, however, have celebrated their success at stalling the project in a "Declaration of Victory" on the site itself on 13 April 1990, while solemnly confirming their non-negotiable resistance to the tapping of Mt. Apo.

The government's plans to submerge a *Subanon* village in Imelda town, Zamboanga del Sur in western Mindanao, by constructing a dam for energy generation and irrigation purposes drew similar reactions. In the face of the relocation of 134 families, the Subanon of Barangay Dumpoc last November carried out a traditional blood compact- **kandugo** - in opposition to the dam, supported by national and international sympathizers.

A dramatic increase in recruitment of local paramilitary units, has resulted in an increase of tribal wars within the Cordillera and in Mindanao. And despite attempts at peace negotiations between the government and the rebel NDF (the National Democratic Front) military offensives on indigenous territories have gone unabated. The protracted operations, aimed purportedly at annihilating rebel bases in indigenous villages, have turned tens of thousands of indigenous Filipinos and Filipinas into internal refugees, deprived of food and medical supplies in their cordoned-off areas.

Higaonon villages in and near Lantad, Balingasag town, Misamis

Oriental province in northern Mindanao have been subjected to non-stopaerial and ground bombing for eight days, as a two-month offensive started on 28 January 1990. Ground troops razed 73 houses and 200 hectares of farmland, and killed much of the livestock on the pretext that Lantad was a training ground and production base of the guerillas.

A pocket rebellion by army Col. Alexander Noble at the heels of the December 89 coup attempt that nearly toppled the Aquino government cost nearly 200 indigenous casualties. A military offensive by loyal government troops to apprehend the renegades who had withdrawn to Higaonon areas in Agusan del Sur, north-central Mindanao, displaced more than 8 000 Higaonon, with almost 200 people killed by, or in the aftermath of serial and ground shelling, according to a Manila-based support group. Lumad organizations suspect however, that the massive forces deployed against Noble had in the first place orders to clear the area of its indigenous inhabitants in order to facilitate access to timber stands and gold reserves in the area.

Another grave instance of human rights violations against indigenous communities involved the 3 000-strong private army of Magsaysay and Sands (M & S) Logging Company, which is operating on the ancestral domain of the *Lambangian, Dulangan-Manobo and Teduray* of Sultan Kudarat province. The said company had obtained government funds to replant trees for industrial use on Lumad territories which had already been logged. The refusal of the local communities to be pressured into becoming workers for

Broad protests are being raised, as well as desperate petitions sent to Pres. Aquino to stop the deprivation of the Lumads of their ancestral lands, the onslaught on their environment and the terror campaigns against them.
(Photo: LUMAD MINDANAW)

the company on their own land, led to a six-month terror campaign in October 1989. Village after village was raided, houses and crops set ablaze, with the inhabitants shot at. Since December 1989, 40 persons were confirmed killed by the goons, at least one of them by beheading. Another eight cases of decapitation have been reported by **Lumad Mindanaw**, the regional alliance of indigenous organizations, for the same period. A total of 17 villages have been abandoned by their inhabitants and 2 212 families have sought refuge in evaluation centers. Others were hunted down by guards in the forest caves where they tried to hide. A desperate petition by village leaders to Pres. Aquino requesting for at least an investigation of the atrocities has been unanswered, and not a single member of the militia of M & S (which is owned by the son of a former President) has been prosecuted in court up to this day.

In the Cordillera, a sustained military offensive during the last quarter of the year, has exacted heavy casualties from among the *Isneg and Aggay* population of Marag Valley, Kalinga-Apayao: two adults and one child killed by aerial attacks and four more persons hurt. A total of 4 600 Isneg and Aggay evacuated deeper into the hinterlands. Due to military intercepting relief missions to the evacuation sites, more than 1 000 children have since succumbed to a measles epidemic while 42 adults are reported to have died from other illnesses. The military's rationale for invading the valley: to flush out the NPA (New Peoples Army) is to be doubted because barely a month after the beginning of the offensive, bulldozers have started to build new roads for logging into the still thickly forested valley, suggesting that military objectives are in fact heavily intertwined with corporate ones in the case of the Marag assault, an attempt by logging interests to log the remaining tropical forests in the region.

Environmentally speaking, broad protest has been raised among the *Ibaloi and Kankanaey* Igorot small-scale miners and ancestral land owners, against the devastating effects of **open-pit mining** for gold, by the powerful Benguet Corporation in Itogon. Although operations started only in 1989, severe degradation of the environment has already set in, such as the drying up of water sources in the area. Among the adverse social and economic impacts on the Igorot population is the stifling of the traditional economy, based partly on small-scale mining. The long-standing opposition of the Kankanaey people in Mankayan against the operations of the Lepanto Copper dryer finally got results with the destruction of the dryer by armed men.

Within 1990, grants from the European Economic Commission (EEC) financed projects in the Cordillera -CECAP- or the Central Cordillera Agricultural Program, and in Aurora -AIADP- the Aurora Integrated Area Development Project. These projects are concentrated in areas where there are indigenous peoples: the Igorots in the Cordillera and the Dumagats in Aurora. Being implemented through various government agencies, the project's main activities during the year consisted of infrastructure building - putting up of the head offices, acquiring European-made vehicles and heavy equipments- and making impact projects like water systems and footbridges, etc. The involvement of people's organizations in project conceptualization to evaluation is still at the token level.

The strongest earthquake in Philippine history struck on 16 July 1990, and indigenous areas carried the brunt of the destruction wrought by the killer quake. The Cordillera and an adjoining province were the epicenters, but the devastation was worst in the Cordillera. Major highways going in and out of the region were destroyed, buildings and bridges collapsed, and mountains and ricefields were eroded. The Cordillera alone has suffered casualties of 1 600 dead, with 3 000 persons hurt and a total of 20 000 families homeless. Much of the efforts of the Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA) for the year 1990 went into relief and rehabiliation work for the quake victims.

1990 is also the year when the negotiations on the fate of the military bases in the Philippines will be finished. The two biggest bases, Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base, which are located in the provinces of Zambales and Pampanga, respectively, have caused the displacement of the *Aetas*, the aborigines of the Philippines. Camp John Hay Base in Baguio City in the Cordilleras, has also displaced the indigenous from their ancestral lands. In spite strong demands for non-renegotiation of the treaty, however, Aquino government negotiators headed by Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus continue negotiations for higher rental by the U.S. of the base facilities, thus indicating a new RP-US Bases Treaty beyond 1991.

This general overview of what happened to the indigenous peoples in the Philippines in 1990, shows the nature of the Philippine government's policy towards the indigenous peoples: to regard indigenous peoples' ancestral domains as resource base areas, in which extractive activities will be pursue without any consideration for environmental protection nor for sustainable development. To facilitate the incursions of big business and to quell the people's resistance, military operations are launched and paramilitary formations are increased. Foreign-funded projects are brought in to identified critical areas. This is basically the same policy of previous governments. However, this time, the method of deception is more sophisticated.

In terms of people's responses, what is significant is the formation of a coalition of Moro people's organizations. This is KITAB - a Moro term meaning "knowledge or wisdom". As a reaction to the moves of government to impose its version of autonomy on the Moro peoples, a regional coordination led to the formation of the coalition.

Among the Cordillera people, the women formed their own coalition INNABUYOG (an Igorot term for the indigenous labour exchange practices). The indigenous women realized that unless they set up their own organizations, their concerns and demands as women will always be second priority, and the perspective of indigenous women lost. On the international level, some Cordillera women attended the 2nd International Indigenous Women's Conference in Saamiland, Norway. One of them was chosen to sit in the

Interim Committee of the International Council of Indigenous Women.
The focus of the indigenous peoples' struggles has been in opposing the increasing militarization of their communities. They are also protesting against the further degradation of their environment in which multinational and local business corporations are the main perpetrators. They are also engaged in setting up alternative development programmes by indigenous peoples' organizations. The development of a women's movement among the indigenous women is also a significant factor in furthering and making more comprehensive the people's struggles.

Smiling children from North Thailand. Here the political atmosphere puts the blame on tribals for the environmental degradation.
(Photo: Mellemfolkelig Samvirke)

Mainland South-east Asia

In **Thailand,** four million people living in areas declared as National Reserve Forests are facing gradual eviction, as plans are being made for eucalyptus plantations covering 41 600 out of the 61 600 square kilometres of the National Reserve Forests (totals 12% of Thailand's land area).

Local villagers depend on these areas for communal grazing grounds and community woodlands. (Lohman, **The Ecologist**, Vol 20 (1) 1990).

In Northern Thailand, where 500 000 to 1 million hills people belonging to indigenous groups such as the *Hmong, Karen, Akha, Lisu, Tai-O and Mien* people depend on the watershed mountainous areas, ecology is a highly explosive issue.

Following a series of successive foreign aided crop-substitution programmes, many of the hills people have turned themselves toward the production of commercial cashcrops and have given up the independence from the lowland markets that the traditional opium economy ensured them. As commercial farming has turned out successful in a number of cases, this is today provoking anti-tribal sentiments among the lowland Thai villagers, agitated by populist political activists eager to see the tribals evicted from the area. (Kaye, **Far Eastern Economic Review**, 13 Dec. 1990).

In this political atmosphere, the issue of severe environmental degradation is easily turned against the minority tribals, who in local propaganda are pointed out as the main cause of the nationwide ecological crisis, generally caused by the large-scale illegal deforestation by commercial logging interests prior to the logging ban in 1988.

During the UNWGIP session 1990, the situation of the *Negrito* Aboriginals in southern Thailand, Malaysia and on the Andaman Islands was brought forward by Hartmut Heller. In Southern Thailand, the *Kenseus,* belonging to one of the remaining half a dozen Negrito indigenous peoples of the Malay Peninsula, are facing cultural extinction. The declining population of the less than 2 000 Kenseu are facing hardships caused by loss of traditional lands to rubber plantations and subsequent rainforest destructions in their area.

In **Burma,** four main events have occurred during 1990, directly influencing the indigenous situation, and causing an escalation of the widespread violations of human rights against ethnic minorities.

The first event is the intensification of the military operations against the ethnic-controlled liberated areas along the borders, known as the dry season offensive from December 1989 to May 1990 and onwards.

The second event is the continued resource exploitation by Thai logging interests. The results of Thai logging within Karen-held territories have been devastating to the Karen economy within the liberated areas of Kawthoolei, as vividly described by Dr. Em Marta in an extensive interview published in *IWGIA Newsletter* 62.

The third event has been the general elections on 27 May 1990, the first democratic elections in Burma in the last thirty years. The results of the elections became a landslide victory for the opposition National League for

Democracy (NLD) party, which won eighty percent of the votes. So far the government has refused to hand over power to the elected representatives,and have been met with increasing popular pressure from all over Burma, where people are demanding the transfer of power to the democratically elected parliament.

The fourth and latest of the events during 1990, has been the establishment of a provisional government on 18 December, when the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma was formed by elected representatives of the National League for Democracy (NLD), Party for National Democracy and individual peoples' representatives.

Several human rights organizations have documented increasing human rights abuses since the military leaders of the ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) took over power in Rangoon in September 1988. The period from 1988 to 1990 has further witnessed an escalation of Burma's more than 40 years of war against the indigenous peoples such as the *Arakan, Chin, Kachin, Karen, Karenni, Mon and Shan,* who together with the *Lahu, Pa-O, Palaung and Wa* organizations have sided against the Burmese military. The indigenous peoples of Burma account for between one-third and two-fifths of Burma's total population.

In April 1990, an ***Asia Watch*** mission to Burma and Thailand could confirm, that the SLORC regime continued to engage in a consistent pattern of gross human rights abuses both in the interior, and along the Thai border during the dry season offensive against indigenous liberated areas. The report documents how hundreds of civilians from the *Karen, Mon and Karenni* states have been drafted by force into portering, in some cases including women and children.

During 1990 there has been a continuation of the systematic violations of human rights in connection with portering, such as summary executions or cruel and inhuman treatment of porters who try to escape. Other such violations include the failure to collect and care for porters who become sick and wounded in the course of their portering duties, and the placing of porters at risk by forcing them to walk into conflict areas or areas presumed to be mined.

Besides incidences of direct summary executions, the Asia Watch report documents the ill treatment and army brutality against porters serving in the front lines, such as the physical maltreatment of porters collapsing from disease, starvation, injuries, or by the exhaustion from the heavy loads of munition they are forced to carry.

This pattern of army brutality against the civilian porters, who are most often treated as suspected political opponents, may be described as an intended way of forcing the civilians to work to the point of collapsing, to prevent them from escaping to the enemy side, regardless of whether this means working them until they die.

This is the point of view taken by several observers, who have described portering as "death-marching" of civilians.

Sustaining such an argument, are the number of incidences where civilians have been forced to act as "human minesweepers" for the Burmese military. Asia Watch documents three such incidences of mine injuries during the dry season offensive 1989-90, and reports the use of torture in the forms of beatings and near-suffocation from drowning, against porters trying to escape from the minefields.

In July 1989, a group of 500 political prisoners were forced into one such death march, tied with ropes around their wrists and ankles, while carrying arms and ammunition for the Burmese troops. According to the latest Asia Watch report (February 1991) several hundreds of the porters have died by late 1990 as a result of exhaustion and army brutality. During the first few weeks of the army offensive against Kachin insurgent forces, at least one hundred civilian porters appear to have died. The survivors of the death march numbering perhaps 300, were taken to a state-owned ruby mine near Lushio, where they have been observed working in early 1990, still chained together and guarded by the military. Reports from the Shan States and the Burmese-Chinese border, however have found that all of the remaining prisoners had died by the end of 1990.

During 1989-90, thousands of Karen, Mon, Karenni and Burmese students have been displaced or have taken refuge inside Thailand, pushed across the border by Burmese army assaults.

On 24 January, the Thay Baw Bo student camp was captured by the Burmese army, and about 1 800 Karen civilians escaped into Thailand.

In late January, the Karen bases of Maw Kae and Wa Lae were captured, and in early February the Mon base of Nam Kek was taken by the Burmese military.

On 11 February, the strategic Three Pagodas Pass, the headquarters of the Mon was captured and an estimated 7 000 Mon, together with hundreds of Karen and Burmese students, crossed the border into Thailand.

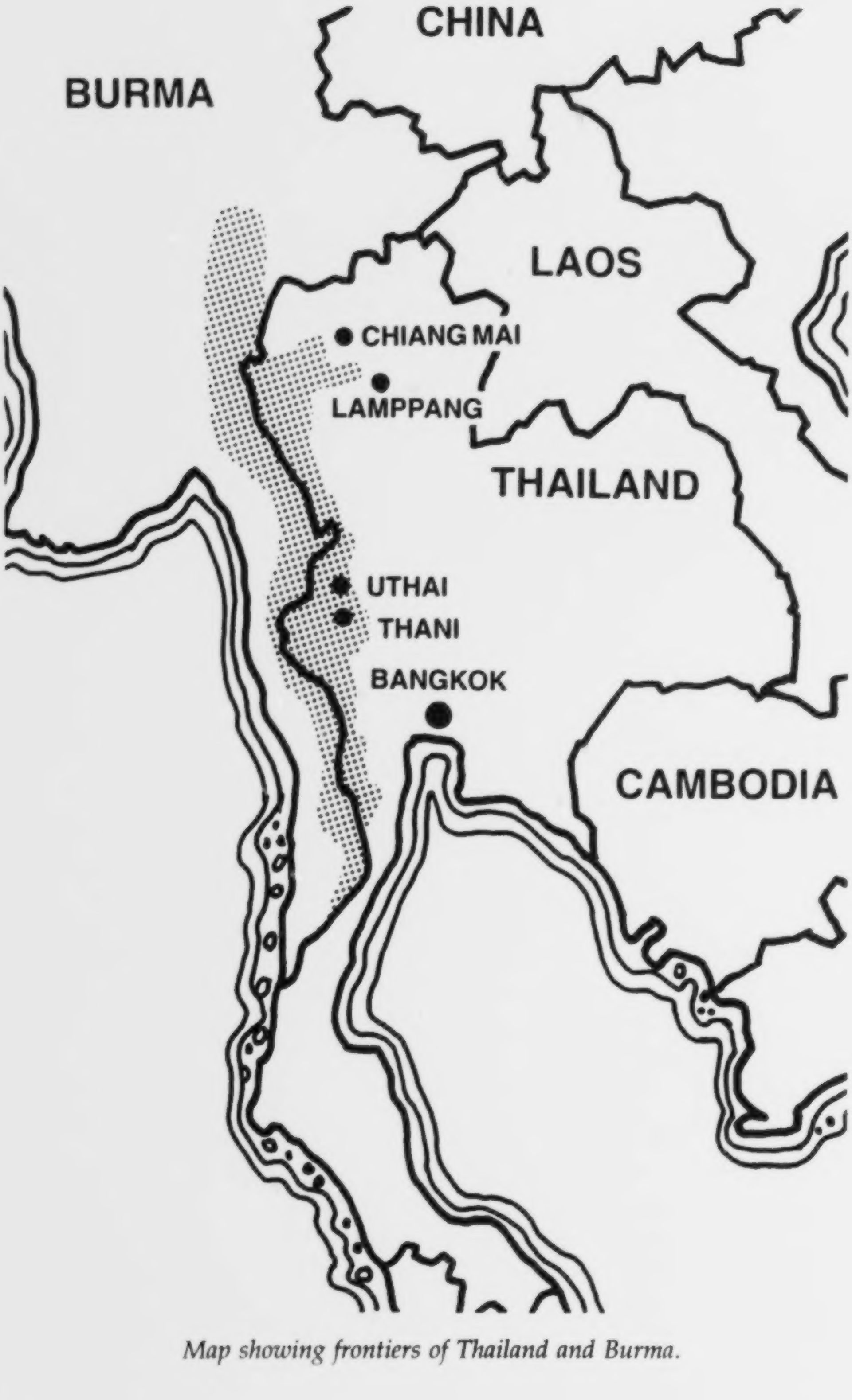
On 20 February the Mon Tang student camp was captured.

The military offensive has been directed not only along the Thai border, but also further north, against the Kachin forces, who lost their base of Khasan on 16 February.

As the dry season of 1990-91 proceeds, reports of massive arms shipments to the border, Burmese troop build-ups, continued round up of porters and forced relocation of ethnic minorities along the border, forewarns an imminent army offensive, likely to drive tens of thousands of indigenous refugees across the border.

According to the U.S. Committee for Refugees, the number of Burmese refugees in Thailand have increased to more than 42 000 by November 1990. By far, the largest of the refugee communities is that of the Karen, who along with the Mon and Karenni, have been receiving shelter and humanitarian assistance from Thailand since the influx of refugees started in 1984. Karen refugees are living in twelve refugee camps along the border, temporary home to some 28 685 people (USCR figures).

Among the Mon, 8 565 people have crossed into Thailand, where they are presently living in four camps outside Sangklaburi.



Map showing frontiers of Thailand and Burma.

In Northern Thailand, at Mae Hong Son, where three Karenni refugee camps are located, an estimated 1 000 Karenni have sought refuge in early 1990, raising the number of Karenni refugees to about 2 800.

According to the USCR, the situation for most of the new arrivals at the Karen, Mon and Karenni camps is "marginal at best". The USCR cites problems such as lack of food and medicine supplies, of housing and sanitation, as well as the outbreak of diseases such as blackwater fever and cholera and the high prevalence of malaria, as the main obstacles facing the refugees.

On the Burmese side of the border with Thailand, tens of thousands of Karen, Mon and Karenni have been displaced by army persecution. Villages have been burnt, and villagers are faced with the choice of either risking their lives as they try to escape from the fighting, or be relocated into fenced model villages placed under strict curfew by security forces. According to Karen National Union (KNU) sources, more than 32 000 Karens have been displaced inside Burma by the civil war, and USCR reports the internal displacements of at least 20 000 Karenni and 6 000 Mon by November 1990.

Among the Kachin, more than 70 000 people have been displaced since 1988, as a result of the Burmese army assaults against the vast liberated areas in the northern parts of Burma, held by the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO). In the northern parts of the Kachin territories, according to the Kachin Refugee Relief Committee, 37 000 persons have been displaced by the civil war. In the western parts of the Kachin-held areas, an additional 10 000 families have been forced away from their villages to seek refuge in the liberated areas still controlled by the Kachin. Along the Sino-Burmese border, more than 5 000 Kachin, or 1 244 families, are living in refugee camps.

The military escalation during 1988-90, of the war against the indigenous peoples, has been influenced by two events during 1989-90 which have changed the military situation in favour of the Burmese army, and subsequently hastened the aggravation of the human rights situation.

The first event, in Eastern Burma, has been the collapse of the Communist Party of Burma. The other influencing factor has been the involvement of Thai interests in the war zone on the Thai-Burmese border.

The collapse of the Communist Party of Burma, in March-April 1989, has opened the access for the Burmese military to control the remote eastern hills of the Shan States, the main opium-producing district in the country.

The fall of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB), the strongest of the non-indigenous insurgent groups, began when in March 1989, *Kokang Chinese, Wa* and other ethnic groups mutinied against the ranks of the CPB, and drove the Burman leaders across the borders into China. The mutiny was a revolt against the party's taxation of ethnic villagers, and of the racial Burman domination within the party, where the brunt of human casualties during the military operations inevitably were carried by the rank and file of ethnic minorities. Soon, however, ethnic fragmentation led to a disintegration of the 10 000-15 000 strong army, who split up along ethnic lines. Among the groups that broke away from the CPB, several Wa groups have approved peace agreements with the military government, and have started attacking the ethnic insurgent armies in the Shan State.

Following the disintegration of the CPB, the Rangoon rulers have managed to establish government control of drug trafficking across the border into Yunan province of China, with the help of the Kokang Army, led by drug warlord Lo Hsing Han. (For a further account of these events, see Lintner in **Far Eastern Economic Review** of 30 March and 1 June 1989, and 28 June 1990).

Speculation by some observers see a possible connection between unquantifiable government revenues on drugs taxation, and the renewed arms supplies bought from China.

The fall of the CPB has further influenced the military situation in the civil war, not only is the army better equipped today than two years ago, it is also left with only two fronts to fight: the popular uprising in the cities, and the indigenous armed struggle along the border.

Since the agreements between Thai general Chaovalit and the SLORC regime, where Thai interests won valuable concessions to fishing and logging on Burmese territories (see **Far Eastern Economic Review** 22 Feb. 1990), the Thai military has been informally cooperating with the Burmese army against the Mon, Karen and student forces.

According to Mon sources (**ibid.**), the Burmese soldiers were attacking from Thai territory, when on 9 February the Burmese army attacked and later captured the strategic Three Pagodas Pass, from where the Mon had been able to control one of the main cross-border trade routes between Burma and Thailand.

Apart from not interfering with Burmese army attacks from Thai territories, Thailand has been actively involved in supporting the Burmese rulers, handing over a large number of Burmese refugees to the Burmese military.

On 10 March, 400 Burmese civilians were repatriated from Mae Sot to Myawaddy, and on 17 March, some 300 to 600 Burmese were repatriated from Ranong to Victoria Point.

On 7 June, according to the U.S. Committee for Refugees, more than a thousand Burmese were forcibly repatriated from the vicinity of Mae Sot. The refugees were deported to the Burmese army-controlled town of Myawaddy, where 766 of the refugees were detained, while 300 managed to escape back into Thailand. The number of ethnic minority people among the repatriated remains unknown.

Of the refugees detained at Myawaddy, at least four Karen women have been raped, twelve refugees have been imprisoned and an unknown number have been forced into portering for the Burmese army according to reports.

If the Thai policy of repatriation is continued, it is feared that more than 10 000 Burmese refugees are in immediate danger of being deported.

Since June, repatriation have continued on a smaller but more regular scale. In September, more than 850 Burmese from the Suan Phlu Immigration Detention Center were deported from Ranong, including 24 UNHCR-registered Burmese.

Although ethnic minority refugees continue to be given contemporary *asylum within Thailand, some restrictions on the humanitarian assistance* to the camps have been evoked, although they have not been strictly enforced, as yet. Private relief agencies serving the Karen camps have a limited mandate to serve old camps, but not the new arrivals.

During the first democratic elections in Burma in the last thirty years, held on 29 May, the opposition won an overwhelming victory. In this connection, the pre-election period has been marked by a deterioration of the human rights conditions all over Burma. Martial law was declared in September 1988, and in July 1989 fifteen military tribunals were established. These have been authorized to impose death sentences, life imprisonment or imprisonment of not less than three years with hard labour. The tribunals are explicitly authorized to conduct summary trials, to reject witnesses and to refuse retrials. Thousands have been arrested since the creation of the tribunals, and during the election campaigns, at least a hundred were sentenced to death by commanding officers.

Even after the elections, although martial law was lifted in some townships, the prohibitions concerning restrictions to the rights to freedom of expression and assembly, continue to be in force throughout the country.

In August 1990, Asia Watch issued a second report on Burma, concerning post-election abuses. According to the report, thousands of political prisoners are believed to remain in custody, where a number of them continue to risk being tortured during interrogation.

In the Karen State, in June, reportedly five political prisoners have been executed in Pa-an, where military tribunals continue to hand down death sentences for political offences.

On 8 August, 3 000 - 5 000 students and Buddhist monks were gathered in peaceful demonstrations at the Maha Mya Muni Pagoda in Mandalay, when the army opened fire, killing two students and two monks, and wounded several demonstrators.

The following day, in Pakhoru south of Mandalay, at the Irrawaddy river, several people were killed during demonstrations, and an unknown number injured.

After the killings of peacefully demonstrating monks, Buddhist monks from all over Mandalay, in upper Burma and in Rangoon, have been refusing to accept offerings from soldiers and their families, or to perform religious rites for them; a peaceful boycott which, in effect, excommunicates anyone associated with the military. The SLORC regime has answered back with increased harassments. Local military commanders have been vested with martial law powers to disrobe monks and to imprison or execute disobedient opponents among the Buddhist monks. (Lintner, **Far Eastern Economic Review**, 8 Nov 1990).

During 1990, the ideas of federalism put forward by the Democratic Alliance of Burma- the national coalition of indigenous peoples, Burmese students and buddhist monks, became a meaningful concept to the majority of the democratic forces within Burma.

The DAB concept of federalism is based on four points:

a) The equality and self-determination of all nationalities;
b) The federation of states including a Burman state;
c) A multi-party political system guaranteeing full democratic freedoms, social justice and human rights; and
d) A legislature consisting of a national assembly and people's assembly, by which power is shared between the central government and the state.

The DAB further declares, in the Policy Statement of the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) on Establishment of a Federal Union of States (**KNU-Bulletin**, no.22, June 1990), that the DAB will never destroy such a federal union nor secede from it.

Most of the political opposition parties which registered for the general elections have declared themselves in favour of a federal system of government, incorporating constitutional guarantees to the autonomy of the ethnic states. Among the parties in favour of federalism, is the National League for Democracy, which won a landslide victory, gaining 80 percent of the votes cast at the elections.

Whether the military will accept its electoral defeat, and accept a constitution which incorporates a federal system and limits the powers of the central state, however, still remains unknown. The present SLORC government has announced, contrary to promises made before the elections, that it will not transfer power until a constitution acceptable to them has been drafted, a process that is still ongoing.

At present, the SLORC military rulers are trying to gain time. Their strategy of indefinite postponement of the transfer of power, is presumably intended to either cause a split within the NLD, or to replace the legitimacy that the military lost at the elections, with the extension of crude power monopoly of the state, demonstrated through a fulfilment of the SLORC's declared aim of eliminating the indigenous national movement.

On 18 December 1990, a provisional government was formed, when elected representatives of the National League for Democracy (NLD), Party for National Democracy, and individual peoples representatives, established the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma.

While most of the leadership of the NLD continues to be imprisoned, the first plans for the formation of a provisional government were made already in September 1990. Since the elections, more than 50 elected candidates have been arrested, while a number of candidates have managed to seek shelter in the indigenous border areas.

The first steps by the opposition to form an alternate government were initially taken in October by 120 elected representatives, with the backing of the majority of the National Assembly, who were to meet in Mandalay. The formation of the provisional government was to take place in a Buddhist monastery under the protection of thousands of Buddhist monks and students, to prevent military interference.(**Asia Watch**, February 1991).

However, the plan leaked out, and the more than 200 MPs at the Mandalay meetings decided to cancel the plan and, according to **Asiaweek** (4 January 1991), the meeting instead designated seven members to represent them and take whatever action they thought necessary. On 18 October, the seven MPs decided to declare a government in a frontier area. In December, Dr Sein Win, a nephew of the detained NLD leader Aung San Suu Kyi, and Chairman of the National Party for Democracy, escaped together with almost a dozen representatives elected from the main opposition party slate, the National League for Democracy (NLD), to the Karen- controlled areas along the Thai border.

On the 18 December, the provisional government was formed at Marnerplaw, the headquarters of the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), although the DAB is not otherwise represented.

This government "has the full support of the ethnic national movements", as expressed by Maung Kyin Zaw in his statement to the U.N.Commission on Human Rights' 47th session, where the delegate of the Burmese people called on the international community, through the U.N.Commission, to recognize the legitimate National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma, and subsequently to cancel the seat of the illegitimate SLORC regime at the United Nations.

Maung Kyin Zaw further called upon the international community, on behalf of the Burmese people, to exert maximum political and economic pressure on the SLORC regime, to release all detained political prisoners, including NLD leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and to stop unlawful banning, arrests and other human rights violations. International sanctions are further called upon to pressure the SLORC regime to respect the will of the peoples of Burma, and to respect international laws, the U.N. charters and the international declarations of human rights.

In December 1990, IWGIA participated in the fact finding mission to the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), **Bangladesh**, together with members from the Commission on the CHT.

The mission was able to obtain information on the human rights situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, both from the refugee community in Tripura, India, and during the visit up in the Hill Tracts from the Bangladesh side of the border.

Among the people and organizations visited, the Greater Chittagong Hill Tracts Students Council (GCHTSC), reported on incidences of continued army harassments of tribal village girls.

At one such incident, on 18-19 October, following one of the greater Buddhist festivals "Kothin Chibar Dana ", a company of army soldiers harassed a group of Jumma buddhists returning from the ceremony, and successively raped fourteen *Jumma* girls, who, accompanied by two elderly women were travelling together with ten young men, all of whom reportedly were tortured.

Reported killings include the death on 30 August of Pittar Kumar, a seven-year-old, who was burned alive. East Bengal Regiment attacked the

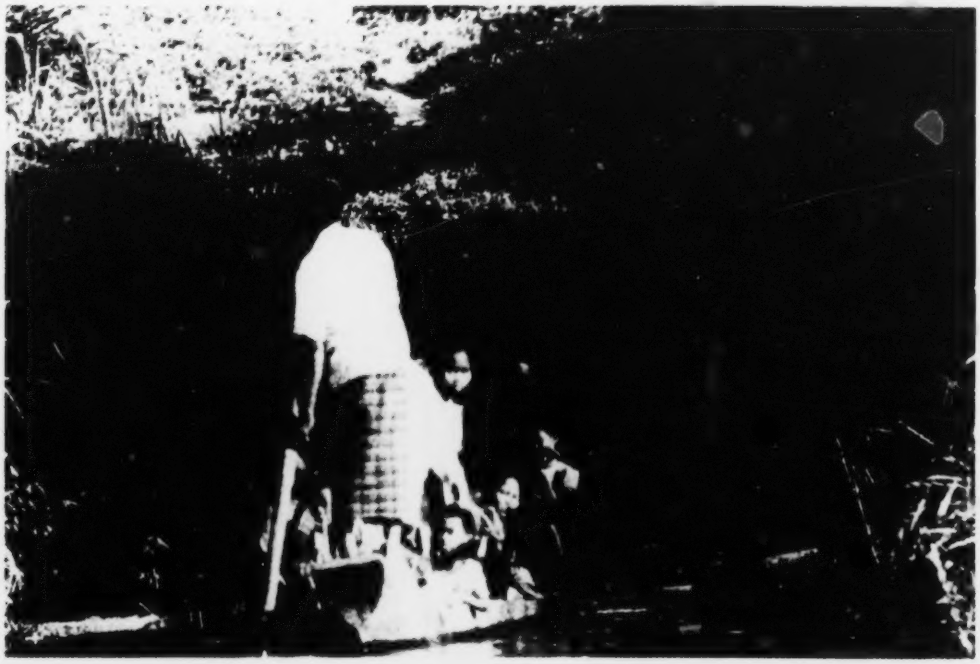


Photo of the indigenous peoples in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. (Photo: Teresa Aaparicio, IWGIA)

village of Laksmichari, Khagrachari district, and burnt down twenty seven Jumma houses. Later, on 21 October, one Jumma villager at Mahalchari, named Chilaprae Marma, became the victim of punitive killing byBangladesh soldiers, when his son, a member of the Shanti Bahini, the armed wing of the indigenous Jumma political organization, refused to surrender to the Army.

Torture and burning of Jumma villages are also reported in connection with the forced resettlement of Jumma villagers into military controlled "collective farming" compounds.

The widespread existence of such cluster camps is in no way denied by Bangladesh officials. Local authorities expressed that apart from cutting the communications between the Jumma people and the Shanti Bahini forces, the collective farms serve the purpose of future rehabilitation of repatriated refugees. In some areas, according to local government sources, all returning refugees have been organized into such cluster camps for "civilizing and protective purposes".

Those living in such camps, according to Jumma sources (GCHTSC), are faced with a maximum of restrictions. The movements of Jumma villagers are brought under control by soldiers, who have the power to deny provisions of essentials to families such as medicine, cloth and food. In this way, families are forced to live below the limits of starvation, those with six or seven members having to live on two kiloes of rice daily, according to restrictions set on the daily amount of food a family will be allowed to carry from the market.

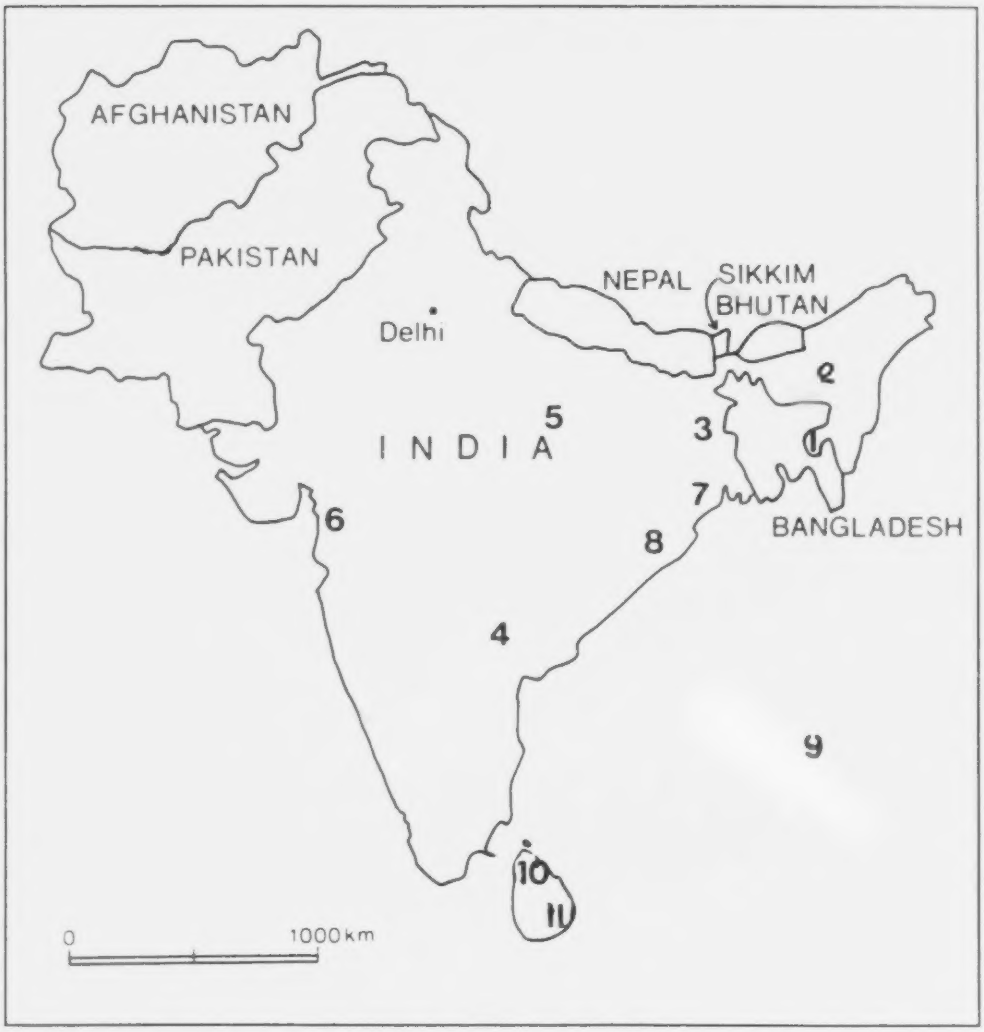
There are presently about fifty such cluster camps (GCHTSC figures) in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. One recent incident of forced resettlement of villagers is the village of Christian Para at Khagrachari, where 35 families were forced to move into the collective farm of Kamalchari, after the army reportedly burnt down the village and the village church.

Besides cluster villages, government programs have concentrated on converting Jumma villagers into the Islamic Faith.

Assimilative policies in some instances, further include the encouragement of military personel to marry Jumma girls.

According to Jumma sources, there are presently as many as ll4 000 soldiers in the CHT or a ratio of one military personnel to every five Jummas.

Map of South Asia



Indigenous Population of South Asia: 51 million

1. *Tripura*
2. *Bodo*
3. *Gurhka*
4. *Bodghat project*
5. *Singrauli project*
6. *Narmada project*
7. *Subarnarekha project*
8. *Orissa*
9. *Andaman Islands*
10. *Tamils*
11. *Vedda*

In the northeastern states of **India**, political violence has been endemic since the 1950s, with the passing of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (Assam and Manipur). In states like Manipur and Nagaland this act has been enforced for more than a decade.

In Assam, in the *Bodo* homelands of Kokrajbar district, the act has been promulgated since 1989, and most recently, following the imposition of President's rule in Assam in late 1990, the Armed Forces Special Powers Act has been promulgated all over Assam.

In Assam, where the Bodos are demanding greater autonomy, conflicts have been violent since the Assam Armed Police were ordered to interfere with initially peaceful campaigns, and members of the All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) in response, in 1988, resolved to conduct armed struggle.

According to Amnesty International (AI), the Assam Police, during raids against Bodo villages, reportedly are responsible for a number of extrajudicial executions, rape, illegal detention and torture of Bodo civilians. Little attempt has been made to make any distinctions between ordinary Bodo tribal villagers and armed units of the Bodo Students.

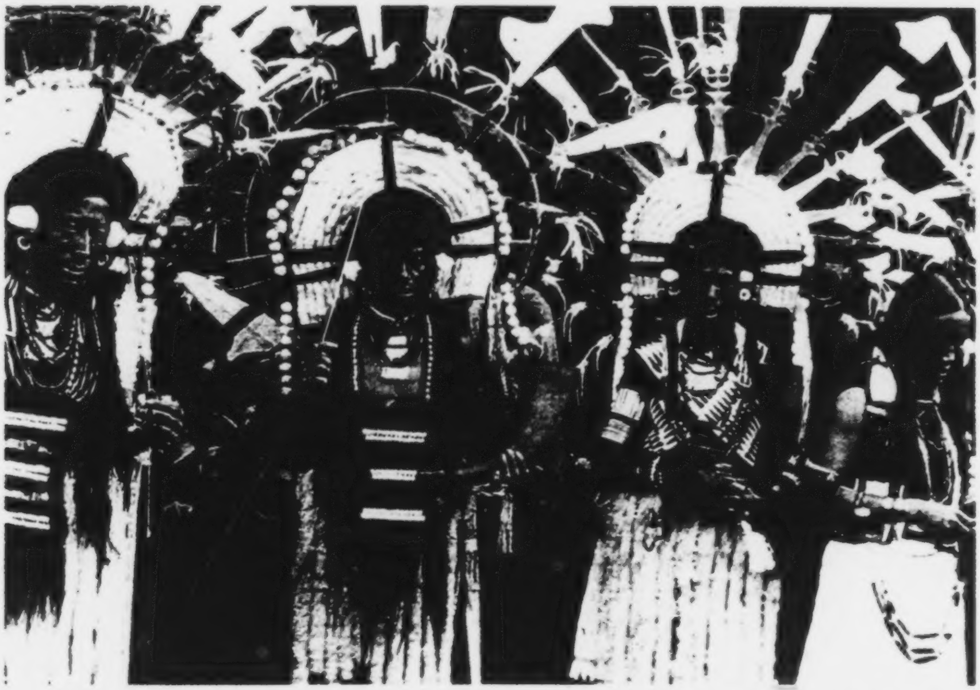
The political indigenous movement in Assam, organized in the Plains Tribals Council of Assam (of which the armed ABSU(U) wing of the Bodo students is a non-member) is disposed towards the creation of a Union Territory of "Udayachal" for the plains tribals, including the *Bodo, Deori, Rabha, Lalung, Kachari, Meche, Cachar Burman and Miri,* merging tribal homelands to be carved out from the state of Assam.

In the hill districts of northern Manipur, the traditional homelands of the indigenous *Nagas* living within Manipur, have been declared "disturbed area" for more than a decade by the central government. In the attempts of the center to deal with Naga insurgents operating from the area, Naga villagers have been deprived of their fundamental constitutional legal guarantees and fundamental human rights to life, freedom and security.

Human rights abuses against Naga villagers are encouraged by the broad provisions vested in security forces such as the Assam Rifles, under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act. The immunity from prosecution that is enjoyed by the security forces, exercising their specified powers to arrest on suspicion without warrant, and to shoot to kill on sight, have led to abuses of power and grave human rights violations.

In October 1990, Amnesty International (AI) issued a report from a case study of torture and extrajudicial executions in Manipur during "Operation Bluebird". The report is based on witnesses' testimonies given before the Gauhati High Court in 1990, and describes the attempts by the Assam Rifles to cover up one incident of grave human rights abuses committed in and around Oinam by security forces during an operation against armed insurgents of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland three years earlier.

The Oinam incident in itself, shows a pattern of arbitrary arrests, detention and torture of hundreds of villagers. Detailed accounts are given of cases of alleged illegal killing and torture, including rape. The victims of



The human rights of the Nagas are trampled upon, under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act that not only give the security forces immunity but also allow them to shoot to kill on sight. (Photo: IWGIA archives)

torture are reported to include elderly people, women, including pregnant women (some of whom lost babies as a result) and several dozen minors.

When the case was brought to court, the Assam Rifles reacted with wide-scale harassment and intimidation of villagers, especially those willing to testify in court. A number of villagers reportedly have been detained and tortured again, during the period of judicial investigations.

The attitude of the central government (to whom the Assam Rifles report directly) during the court case is similarly noteworthy. When in 1987 the first allegations of large-scale abuses in connection with Operation Bluebird were made, the Indian central government kept quiet, and, condoning the abuses, resisted appeals of an impartial investigation into the Oinam incidence. As AI concludes: "successful actions have only resulted from private complaints. The central government's response has been to obstruct the villager's efforts, rather than to assist them in assuring effective remedies. "The court's decisions (yet unpublished), and the political aftermath of the "Operation Bluebird" is an important test case. Its outcome will reveal the willingness of the Indian central government to order an impartial investigation, and to bring those responsible to justice. It further reveals the willingness of the center to fulfill its obligations to provide Naga villagers and Naga human rights organizations with legal channels to seek a curtailment of the arbitrary powers, as these are exercised by security forces outside any form of control by the civil administration from local to state level.

In Orissa in northern India, the state government intends to allot up to 20 000 hectares to the establishment of tea plantations on tribal lands. The projected plantations are to be situated in the mountainous areas of Thuammal-Rampur, the traditional homelands of the indigenous *Konds*, who depend on the hill slopes and open valleys for shifting cultivation.

When in 1955, land surveys were made on which the local land rights are based, they excluded the hillsides from the areas where occupancy rights could be established, and thereby ignored most of tribal lands in order to discourage shifting cultivation. As two local NGOs explain (quoted from **The Ecologist**, 20 (3)): "If the tribals had taken the environmentally damaging path of permanent cultivation on the hill slopes, they would have got occupancy rights. Instead, they have been penalized for ecologically prudent behaviour." Eleven villages are to be squeezed off their lands when the projected plantation areas will be cleared. Still more land alienations are likely to occur from the influx of migrant tea plantation labourers.

The *Adivasis* of India have been protesting against land alienation since the earliest tribal revolts of the *Santhals* under British rule. Since India's independence, the Jharkhand movement has been demanding self-determination and the establishment of a separate state within India, merging the Adivasi homelands within Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

During 1990, the establishment of a separate state for the Jharkhand region has been negotiated between Adivasi organizations, state governments and the Government of India, and a government-appointed Committee on Jharkhand Matters have been showing some positive signals to the question of a separate statehood.

In Western India, in the states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, where Adivasi communities belong to the *Gond, Tadavi and Baiga* peoples, the struggle continues to save the Narmada Valley from the destructive impacts of the upcoming Narmada Valley Development Project.

Confronted with the Indian government's decision to continue with the Sardar Sarovar and Narmada Sagar projects, tens of thousands of Adivasis are determined to halt the Rs. 140 billion project.

On Christmas Day 1990, five years of campaigns culminated when thousands of tribals and environmental activists started marching across Central India, following the pilgrimage route along the Narmada river. From the Sardar Sarovar Project alone, 60 000 tribal people are to be flooded off their homes and land, with no real alternative land provided (**Survival International**, *Urgent Action*, February 1991).

Police measures taken previously in the year to deal with the anti-Narmada Dam activist have reportedly been both repressive and violent, with incidences involving women and children. Adivasi women from the villages likely to be submerged by the project, have been confronted with police violence, since they started organizing civil disobedience campaigns to prevent survey teams of the Narmada Project from entering their villages. (*Narmada Campaign Update 1990*).

In Delhi, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes, Dr. B. D. Sharma, in his annual report to the government, calls for an immediate suspension of the work on the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP), and further concludes that the project violates both constitutional and human rights.

The Sardar Sarovar Project is likely to account for the displacement of a total of 129 000 people, as it is projected to submerge 255 villages (184 partially and 71 fully).

The **1989 IWGIA Yearbook** has summarized some of the facts and problems regarding the social and environmental impact of the SSP. Local and international NGOs have pointed to the fact that viable plans for proper rehabilitation are non-existent. The problem seems virtually unsolvable; there is neither land nor forests available on any scale, or quality sufficient to meet the needs of the tens of thousands of oustee-families included in the rehabilitation schemes. Even if these problems could be managed with the consent and participation of the populations affected (which the present popular resistance to the project in no way indicates), the project still has to address the needs of the thousands of villagers left out of the rehabilitation schemes so far. Landless labourers or tenant farmers, displaced by a landowners' sale of land to oustees, will receive no compensation. In a similar way, the villagers who are to be evicted from future afforestation schemes (proposed as the environmental compensation for damage done by the SSP), have been left out of the resettlement scheme, an aspect which is further aggravating the land problems of the indigenous Adivasis.

During 1990, no solution was found to the social and environmental problems caused by the SSP, as indicated in the 7 July 1990 decision by the World Bank, who decided to freeze its credits to the SSP of 588 million US dollars. The World Bank, however, has extended the deadline for yet another year, for state governments to come up with satisfactory rehabilitation plans for the Sardar Sarovar Project.

In **Sri Lanka,** the cycle of violence and the use of tactics of terror have escalated during the last two years, in the armed conflict between security forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

During 1990, the focus of human rights violations has moved from the southern parts of Sri Lanka to the North, although intimidations and death threats by government security forces in the South have continued, and reports of possible extrajudicial executions of unarmed Sinhalese civilians continue to come from the area.

In the North, hundreds of thousands have fled their homes as the fighting intensified. According to Amnesty International, the number of refugees in Jaffna district alone, exceeded 300 000 by early August, and many more have been displaced in other districts. Conditions among the refugees are poor, with food shortage being one of the major obstacles.

In March 1990, the Indian Peace Keeping Forces (IPKF) completed their withdrawal from Sri Lanka. Following heavy fighting between rival *Tamil* groups, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) took over control of the Northeastern Province, and reportedly started killing alledged sympathizers

Young Tamil girl. The atrocities continue between the Tamil Tigers and government security forces. (Photo: IWGIA archives) of Tamil groups allied with the Indian Peace Keeping Forces (IPKF).

In June, the ceasefire between the Sri Lankan government forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was broken, when the LTTE took over 18 police stations in the East. The LTTE took prisoner 700 of the surrendering local policemen, and started summary executions of hundreds among the captives.

Among the victims of the LTTE atrocities are also hundreds of members of Tamil political organizations opposed to the LTTE. The Democratic Peoples Liberation Front (DPLE) has issued a list of twenty prominent Tamil leaders, including members of Parliament, who reportedly have been killed by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

The government responded to the LTTE offensive with massive reprisal killings, drawing heavy casualties among Tamil civilians. According to Amnesty International (AI), hundreds of extrajudicial executions and "disappearances" were reportedly committed in the East, by Sri Lankan security forces, in late June and early July.

One incident among the atrocities reported by the AI, includes a massacre at Kalmunai on 22-23 June, when soldiers rounded up the local young Tamil males, lined them up, blindfolded them and stabbed them to death with bayonets. The bodies of the victims were then thrown by the soldiers into shops owned by Tamil residents, and set on fire. More than thirty bodies were later found in one burnt-out shop, and another six bodies were discovered outside the Kalmunai hospital.

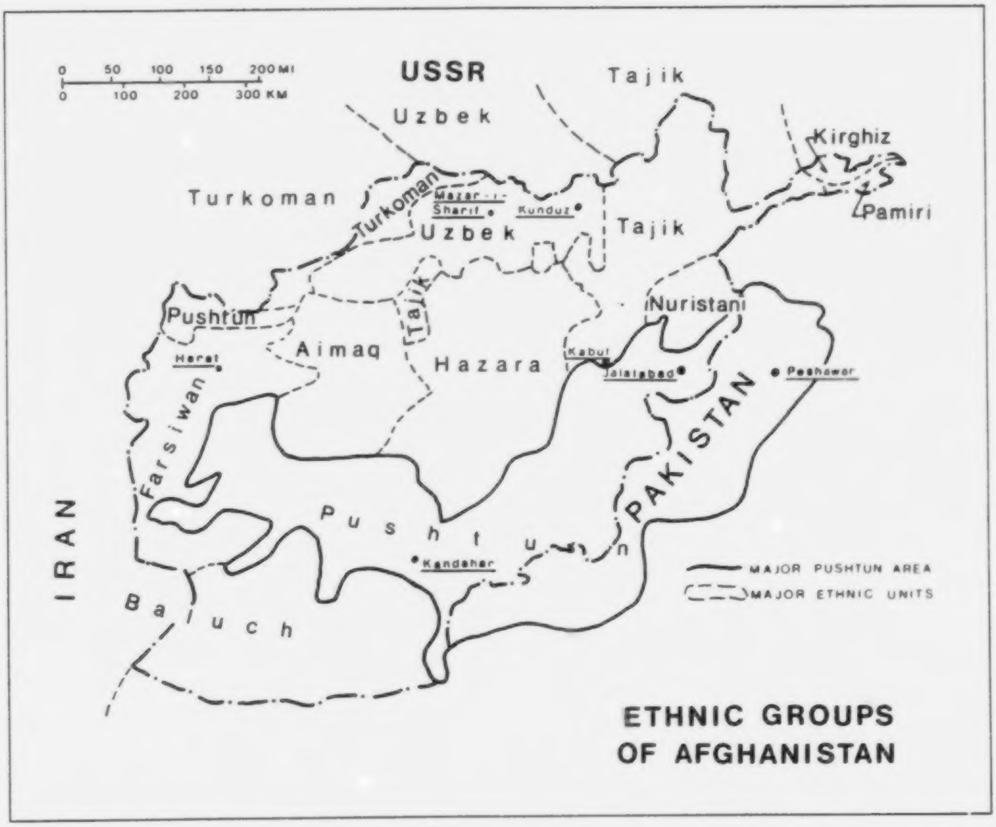
Apart from the public display of mutilated bodies,the security forces are frequently using the tactics of "disappearances" of detained Tamils. In Kalmunai alone, over 70 people have reportedly "disappeared" following detention.

The year 1990 has witnessed a positive development on the *Vedda* case.

To the approximately 2 000 Veddas who continue to live in accordance with a traditional lifestyle based on hunting and gathering, ancestral land is all important to all aspects of their social and cultural existance. Historically, the Veddas, a Dravidian people, are the oldest group to arrive at Sri Lanka, and today they are confined to inhabit the remote jungle areas in Central- and South Sri Lanka, as they have been gradually pushed away from the fertile agricultural lands by increasing population pressure, or have given way to an expanding colonial plantation economy. The most recent incidents took place in 1985, when the Veddas were forcibly relocated from the Madura Oya National Park.

In 1990, however, following legal assistance, the Veddas have been promised that 1 500 acres of ancestral lands belonging to four Vedda villages, will be demarcated from the area previously gazetted as the Madura National Park. The Sri Lankan government further promised to take specific measures (still unspecified) to protect and nurture Vedda culture. The demarcated Vedda homeland will be declared a Sanctuary under the Fauna and Flora Protection Ordinance.

Map of Afghanistan



WEST and CENTRAL ASIA

When the Communist *coup d'etat* took place in April 1978, the population of **Afghanistan** was estimated to be around 15.5 million. The intervening thirteen years of political repression, popular resistance, and the Soviet military intervention between December 1979 and February 1989 have resulted in an estimated one million dead and in major population shifts and dislocations. About three million Afghans are currently refugees in Pakistan, and more than two million have fled to Iran. In addition, an estimated two million people have been internally displaced as refugees inside the country (UNOCA 1989). One of the results of the war and the population shifts has been a dramatic change in the over-all political context of inter-ethnic relations in Afghanistan.

Ethnic heterogeneity. The ethnic composition of the population of Afghanistan is very heterogenous. The groups differ from each other in terms of both language and way of life, and while 99 % are Muslims, they follow different versions of Islam (see Anderson & Strand 1978, Dupree 1980, Orywal 1986 and Weekes 1978 for details). Afghanistan is situated in a transition zone between Central, South and West Asia, and the cultural diversity of the groups which inhabit the country exhibit historical influences and spatial continuities with these three areas. Nearly all of the different ethnic groups in Afghanistan are also living across its borders in one or the other of the neighbouring countries of Pakistan, Iran and the Soviet Union.

The *Pakhtun*, who mainly are living in eastern and southern Afghanistan, are the largest ethnic group in the country, and constitute about 40% of the population. Altogether they number between 12 and 14 million, and roughly half live across the border in the neighbouring areas of Pakistan.

The second largest group in Afghanistan are the Persian-speaking *Tajik*, who number about 2 million. They are settled in the mountainous regions of the north-east, and are related to the Tajik population in the Soviet Union.

Further to the west on the Turkestan plains, between the Hindu Kush and the border with the Soviet Union, are about 1 million *Uzbek* and *Turkoman*. They, too, are settled across the border in Soviet Central Asia, and many are in fact the descendants of refugees from Czarist or Soviet rule.

In western Afghanistan along the border with Iran are about one million *Farsiwan*, who constitute an extension of the principal ethnic group of Iran.

In the deserts of southern Afghanistan are some 100 000 *Baluch*, who represent part of a larger group, also living in the adjacent areas of Pakistan and Iran.

In the central highlands af Afghanistan are the *Hazara*, who number around 1 million, and further west are roughly an equal number of *Aimaq*.

Nearly all of these groups speak languages which are either of Indo-European or Turkic (Uralic-Altaic) origin. The *Pakhto* or *Pashto* spoken by the Pakhtun is an Iranian language, as is the *Baluchi* of the Baluch, and the various dialects of Persian spoken by the Farsiwan, Tajik, Hazara and Aimaq. In contrast, both Uzbek and Turkoman speak Turkic languages. In addition, smaller minority groups like the *Nuristani* and *Pashai* in the eastern Hindu Kush speak various Indo-European languages, which are quite distinct from either Pakhto or Persian.

Nearly all of the Pakhtun are Sunni Muslims, as are the Uzbek, Turkoman, Aimaq, Baluch, Nuristani, Pashai and most of the Tajik. Two versions of Shi'a Islam are found in Afghanistan. One is the Imami Shi'a Islam, which is dominant in Iran, and which all Farsiwan and most Hazara follow. The other version - Ismaili Shi'a Islam - has followers among some Hazara and some Tajik as well.

The situation before the coup of 1978. The Pakhtun are not only the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan, but also the dominant one. This position dates back to the formation of a Pakhtun monarchy in the mid-eighteenth Century. However, it was only from the end of the nineteenth century and onwards, that Pakhtun dominance became extended and entrenched in relation to the other ethnic groups within the country. During this period Afghanistan obtained its present borders, and the ruler Amir Abdur Rahman (1880 - 1901) undertook a policy aptly described as "internal imperialism" (Dupree 1980), the forcible extension and consolidation of state power throughout the country. Regions previously beyond the control of the Kabul government such as Hazarjat, Turkestan and Nuristan were incorporated into the realm, and various Pakhtun tribes who had formerly possessed a very large measure of independence were also brought under increasing state control. Although many Pakhtun tribal groups had resisted the extension of state control, the Pakhtun as an ethnic group were newertheless main beneficiaries of the whole process. Besides emerging as dominant within the bureaucracy and army, they also expanded outside their traditional settlement areas in the east and south, and Pakhtun nomads acquired access to pastures in the central highlands of the Hazara.

To the members of other ethnic groups, the policies of nation building pursued by the central government since then, has appeared to the members of other ethnic groups as a process of increasing *pakhtunization*, where non-Pakhtun were not able to compete on equal terms with the Pakhtun. The coup d'etat in 1978 did not fundamentally change this, since the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (now the Fatherland Party) was also dominated by Pakhtun, who have supplied the four heads of state since the coup.

The war and the changing context of ethnic relations. The popular rebellion against the new regime, which began as early as the summer and autumn of 1978, were spontaneous local responses to arrogant and coercive state interference in local matters rather than a reaction to the reforms announced by the regime. Although the ethnic policies pursued by the new regime through the Ministry of Tribes and Nationalities sought to accommodate non-Pakhtun ethnic groups by such means as publications and broadcasts in their own languages, this apparently had little or no effect on the extent of opposition to the regime. With one or possibly two exceptions involving some of the minor ethnic groups, the support and resistance to the new

133

regime did not correspond to ethnic or religious divisions. Instead the political alignments of different groups sprang from considerations of jointness and oppositions defined in a local context where ethnic differences were only one of the factors at play. Thus most of the country's ethnic groups are divided and comprise both supporters and opponents of the regime in Kabul.

The most striking exception to this pattern are the Ismaili Shia who have followed their spiritual head in support for the Kabul regime. Their reward for this has been important government positions, arms and money, which at least in the shorter run have enabled the Ismaili to strengthen their position vis-a-vis their traditionally hostile Sunni neighbours. A more ambiguous exception is provided by the Nuristani. The Minister of Interior in the government overthrown by the coup d'etat in 1978 was a Nuristani. His death deprived the Nuristani of a source of support in the political center, and this generated widespread resentment against the new regime. Yet unlike the Ismaili, the Nuristani possessed no unifying leadership, but were politically fragmented, and while events during the summer of 1978 involved many communities in revolt against the government, others tried to remain neutral. With the spread of the resistance struggle, Nuristani became more or less surrounded by other resistance-controlled areas, and it would appear that the communities who initially tried to stay neutral have subsequently sided with the resistance.

Today the administration of the Kabul regime is totally absent in most of the rural areas, and about 80% of the country is estimated to be under resistance contol. This control, however, is highly localised and politically fragmented. A major division exists between Sunni and Shia which generally belong to separate and exclusive resistance organizations, although exceptions exist. Yet among both Sunni and Shia the adherents of either sect are split in a number of rival parties which do not correspond strictly to ethnic divisions. Certain resistance parties are frequently portrayed as deriving their followers from among one particular ethnic group, but this can only be taken as very rough approximations.

The rivalry in northeastern Afghanistan between two of the major Sunni resistance parties - the *Jamiat e Islami* and the *Hisb-e Islami* of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar - provides an example of this. Here one of the most famous resistance leaders, the Tajik Ahmad Shah Massoud who is associated with the Jamiat has managed to establish what amounts to the most successful example within the resistance of military and administrative coordination on a regional level. The bulk of the followers of the Jamiat-e Islami consists of Tajik, but the party has neither managed to incorporate all the Tajik in the area, nor is its followers restricted to this particular ethnic group. Tajik are also allied with the rival Hibz-e Islami, although this party derives most of its support from Pakhtun in the area. As has been the case regarding the support and resistance to the regime in Kabul, the allegiance of a particular reistance party is likewise determined by considerations of jointness and opposition.

The exodus of refugees have affected the various ethnic groups to a different extent. The overwhelming majority of the refugees in Pakistan are Pakhtun, who constitute about 85% of the refugee population. Most of these come from eastern and southern Afghanistan, but many Pakhtun have also come from the provinces in the north, where they had settled since the end of the last century. In contrast. the Tajik, Uzbek, Turkoman and Hazara, who before the war constituted about 50% of the population, only make up about 8% of the refugees in Pakistan (UNOCA, 1988).

One significant result of the resistance struggle has therefore been the termination of Pakhtun dominance on the national lavel, and a revival of autonomy for the other ethnic groups. At the same time, the Pakhtun presence as minority land-owning groups, in the areas where the majority was non-Pakhtun has drastically declined, and judging from what has already happened elsewhere, it is far from certain that they will be allowed to return and take possession of their land again.

That the non-Pakhtun ethnic groups will strive to maintain their newly won autonomy vis-a-vis the Pakhtun in the future is beyond doubt. They consider this their legitimate reward for the sacrifices they have made in the resistance struggle. Whether the Pakhtun will accept that Afghanistan is no longer primarily the land of the Afghans (Afghan means Pakhtun), but that they will have to share power to a much larger extent than previously, with other ethnic groups remains to be seen. Whatever the outcome, it is likely to be a long, difficult and probably also violent process before a new fragile balance is achieved between the aspirations and power of the different ethnic groups in Afghanistan.

Sources: Anderson, J & R. Strand (eds). Ethnic Processes and Intergroup Relations in Contemporary Afghanistan. Occasional Paper no. 15. Afgh. Council of the Asia Society, New York, 1978; Dupree, L. Afghanistan. Princeton, 1980; Orywall, E. (ed). Die Ethnischen Gruppen Afghanistans. Wiesbaden, 1986; UNOCA. First Consolidated Report. Office of the UN Co-ordinator for humanitarian and economic assistance programmes relating to Afghanistan. Geneva, 1988; UNOCA. Second Consolidated Report. Office of the UN Co-ordinator for humanitarian and economic assistance programmes relating to Afghanistan. Geneva, 1989; Weekes. R.V. (ed). Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey. Westport, Connecticut, 1978.

Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North

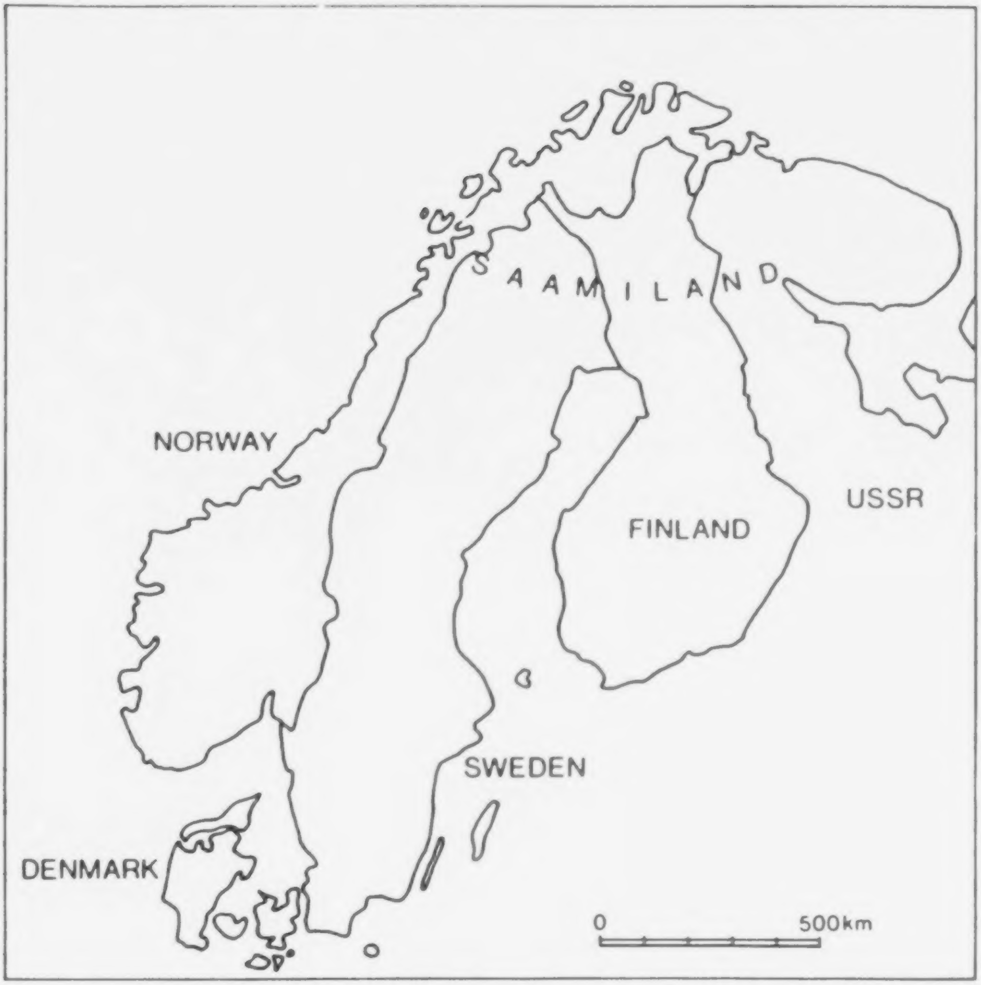
DOCUMENT 67

IWGIA

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

13.6

Map of Saamiland



EUROPE and NORTH ASIA

The year 1990 in **Saamiland** brought with it several gains for the Saamis. In Norway as well as in Finland, the respective Parliaments passed legislation that gave the Saami language a higher status than it has today. But on the question of the Saami's land rights, results have yet to be achieved.

In Norway, the legislation on Sami language is valid for 5 municipalities in the Finnmark district and a municipality in Troms county. This area is defined as a central area for the Saami language. Here, the Saamis have the right to use their mother tongue before official institutions, the police, the legal system and the health services. They also have the right to demand an answer from the authorities in their own language.

According to the language law, the Saami language has the same status as Norwegian. Likewise, the Lulean and Southern Saami language groups are outside the public administration of the language law. This leads to the situation that the teachers in these areas are not allowed to seek permission for leave with pay, while being educated further on the Saami language. This right is reserved for civil servants in the public sector, and for teachers in the 6 municipalities in Finnmark and Troms. According to spokespersons for these language groups, some children have been adversely affected because the new law does not stimulate the recruitment of language teachers.

The preparatory work concerning the new law took a long time. The Committee on Saami Culture which was established by the Norwegian government during the controversial Alta Case in 1981, gave its recommendation on the language law in 1985. It was first 5 years later that the law was passed by the Norwegian Parliament, after having been delayed several times.

Also in Finland, the preliminary work on the language law has gone on for 12 to 15 years, and delayed several times. The law, which was finally passed in 1990 gave the Saamis the right to use their own language before public authorities. And also here the law is only valid in the so-called Saami central districts in the North. Although the law secures the right of the Saamis to use their own language, this does not give the Saami language the same status as Finnish and Swedish in their respective countries. Finnish and Swedish are the official languages in Finland. The Saami language does not have the same status, even after the New Law.

Saami is not a compulsory subject in the schools in either Finland or Norway, even though the majority languages - Finnish and Norwegian - function as such, each in their respective country.

1990 was also a year of waiting for the Saamis. In Finland as well as in Sweden and Norway, a public debate is going on about the Saami's rights to land and water. These have, as yet, not brought any results for the Saami. The Saami people have long since asked for their land rights to be given back to them by the Nordic states, and have asked for legislation that would secure these in the future. In Sweden, the discussions on a Saami Parliament and a Saami language law have not yet been concluded.

In 1990, the Saamis were host to two international conferences, the

At the same time that the Saamis demonstrated a decade ago now against the Alta Dam -as manifested in picture in front of the Norwegian Parliament in Oslo- a Committee on Saami Culture was also started, but it was first in 1990 that a language law finally be passed. (Photo: IWGIA archives)

International Conference for the World Council for Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) which was held in Tromsø, while the second International Indigenous Women's Conference (IIWC) was held in Karasjok. The global environmental threat and the violence towards indigenous peoples, both in the developing as well as in the industrialised world, were issues that occupied most of the delegates to the conference.

The Nordic Saami Council put up a Presidential candidate to the World Council for Indigenous Peoples, WCIP, but the Saami candidate lost to Donald Rojas from Central America, who was re-elected. The Nordic Saami Council was the object of some criticism, because under the intense presidential campaign during the Conference, it threatened to reduce its political and economic commitment to WCIP, if it did not garner the presidential office. However, after the elections, conviviality prevailed.

In 1990, the Saami people were also overcome by a fear of a new Chernobyl. The Soviet authorities decided to move their nuclear testing from Semipalatinsk to Novaya Zemlya, which is situated in the vicinity of the Saami people's traditional areas. This fear of nuclear testing is shared by the Saamis together with other Arctic peoples, and in cooperation with them, they will continue to oppose nuclear testing and other activities that are destroying the environment in the Nordic areas.

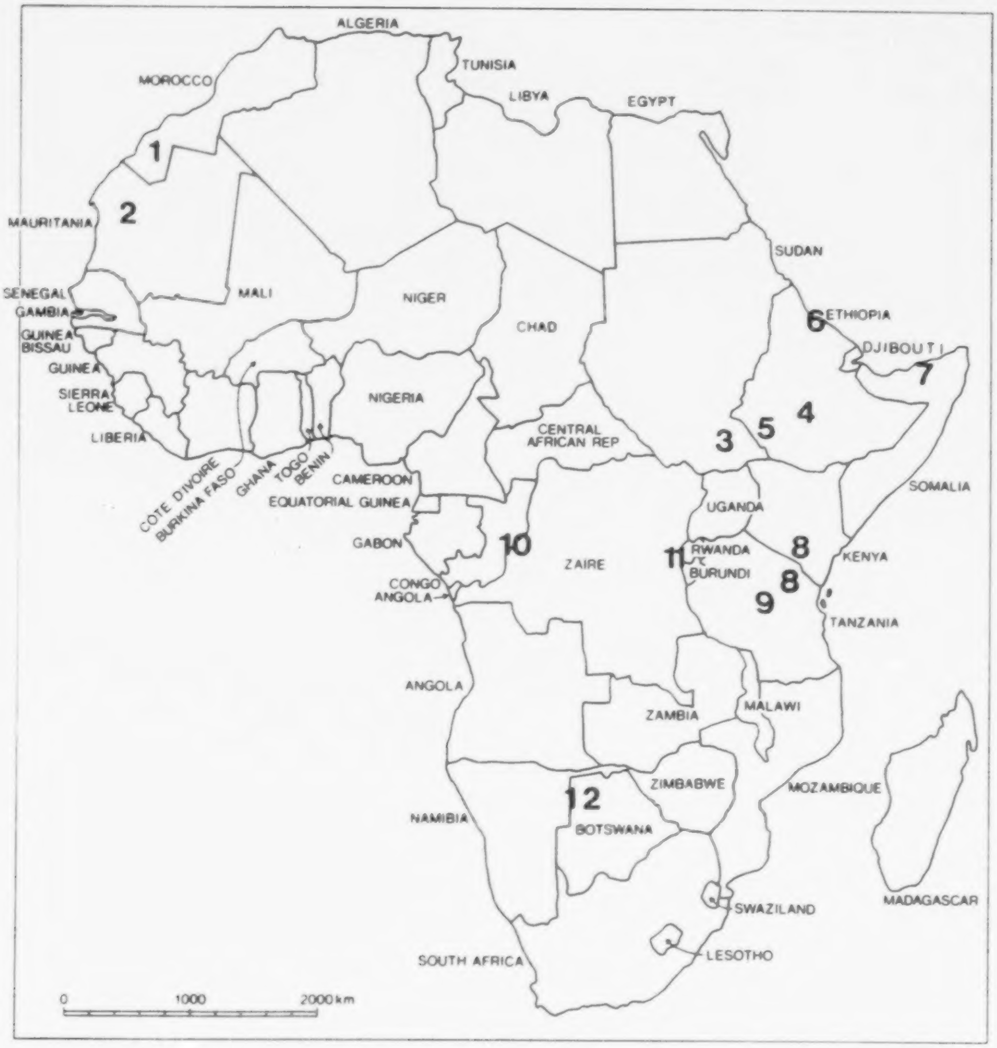
In the northeastern Saamiland, reindeer-herding is being threatened by the paper industry as well as by plans of building a new system of roads.

The Finnish government has plans of opening extensive logging in the Kessi district. Kessi is located between Inari Lake and the Finnish-Soviet, as well as the Finnish-Norwegian border. Logging in this area will have consequences of catastrophic proportions for the Saamis, who are partly or wholly dependent on reindeer herding. The forests are important for winter grazing. And there where the woods are being cleared, the snow becomes harder than normal. This makes it difficult for the reindeer to scrape away the snow in order to get to the food particles that may lie beneath. The main part of the reindeer winter diet comprise of moss that grows on tree trunks and branches. A worsening of conditions regarding the reindeer foraging activities will mean a depletion in the reindeer stock. It is the Finnish paper industry which has interest in augmented logging activites. Once more it is made apparent that the indigenous peoples' interests are subjugated to that bg of the majority society.

In order to increase tourism to the area, a road net is proposed to be built between Kessi and into the Pasvik Valley in Norwegian territory. Reindeer-herding Saamis in the Pasvikelvas Siida is of the opinion that a highway cutting through Kessi forest will mean a **coup de grace** for reindeer foraging. The Finnish Saami Parliament and the Nordic Saami Council have protested against plans on logging and road building. The Saami Council wants it known that there already exists a road along the whole of the Pasvik valley area on the Soviet side, and that there will soon be open borders which will then make a new road net unnecessary. But it is not all Saamis who are against this proposed road.

The Saami youth organization, SANS, has started a campaign which will try to get the Soviet Union to stop the pollution on the Kola peninsula. This initiative mainly concerns stopping the air pollution, which seems to be going beyond bounds, among others the sulphuric emissions which threaten the whole environment in the northern Saamiland.

Map of Africa



North African nomadic peoples: 8 million
East African nomadic peoples: 6 millones
Pygmies: 200,000
San (Basarwa/Bushmen): 100,000

1. *Sahrawi*
2. *Mauritania*
3. *Shilluk/Nuer/Dinka/Mandara*
4. *Oromo*
5. *Anuak*
6. *Eritrea and Tigray*
7. *Issaq*
8. *Maasai*
9. *Barabaig*
10. *Mbuti (Pygmy)*
11. *Hutu/Tutsi*
12. *San (Basarwa, Ju/Wasi, Bushmen)*

Africa and the concept of indigenous peoples

by Espen Wæhle

In 1990 pressure was mounting in diverse parts of Africa for a new political order. In some cases the process has been precipitated from the top down, in others, there have been spontaneous outbursts of protest, usually against deteriorating economic conditions in the first instance, but quickly followed by more serious political challenge.

In Tanzania, 500 representatives of African grassroots organizations, governments, United Nations agencies and Northern NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) called on African governments to adopt a bold and far-reaching programme of political reform and rejuvenation. The meeting unanimously asserted that the absence of full democratic rights was the primary cause of Africa's unyielding, decade-long economic crisis. "To overcome the crisis", states the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation, "there must be an opening up of political processes to accommodate freedom of opinion, and tolerate differences. In this regard, it is essential to establish independent people's organizations that are genuinely grassroots and democratically administered".

The winds of change primarily concern civil and political rights - rights which are normally associated with the individual. As will become clear from the African material presented here, there is also a need for considering in more detail, the situation pertaining to social, cultural and economic rights in Africa -also in the sense of group rights or collective rights.

IWGIA is an international organization which deals with the oppression of indigenous peoples. Yet, the category *indigenous peoples* is not much used in Africa, compared to other parts of the world. When the concept has been used in the context of Africa, it has somehow been restricted to **nomadic groups** like hunter-gatherers (*Pygmies, Bushmen, Hadza, Dorobo*) or pastoralists (*Maasai, Tuareg, Samburu, Fulani*). However, if the concept indigenous peoples is used in the sense of **firstcomer**, one would have to point out that many of the pastoral groups, for example, arrived in their present lands well after other groups (eg. the Bantu-speaking agriculturalists in East Africa arrived before the neighbouring Maasai).

Applied in a **structural sense,** the concept of *indigenous peoples*, applies to marginalized populations in a non-hegemonistic position, in relation to the groups that are currently in power in the national state. One can easily define various groups in Africa that would fit such a definition. Yet, we will not try to present a final discussion on whether *indigenous peoples* is a fruitful concept when analyzing current socio-economic, cultural and political processes in Africa. We will simply state that in recent years, we have experienced various

An African indigenous - a Maasai woman from Tanzania. Indigenous populations are defined as marginalized populations in a non-hegemonistic position in relation to the groups that are currently in power in the national state.
(Photo: Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke)

developments that point to the need for a discussion on indigenous issues in Africa. We have observed three, possibly interconnected trends:

1) the assertion of group rights which parallels ethnic/indigenous assertion of rights elsewhere;
2) the grave situation of human rights in many parts of Africa (also in the sense of collective or group rights); and
3) African concerns or efforts for self-development and self-determination.

Linked to all these trends are situations where groups (ethnic groups, marginalized groups, tribes, indigenous peoples) are subject to physical and cultural oppression and racism.

Recent examples of **defense of group rights or groups interests** are the *Tuareg* rebellion in Mali and Niger, the *Barabaig* claim for compensation of land loss put to the Supreme Court of Tanzania, the establishment (in Arusha, Tanzania 1989) of an East African Pastoral Association to protect pastoral land rights and promote self-development processes in pastoral communities, the conflict between the Botswana government and the *G/wi and G//ana ("bushmen") over conservation vs. hunting in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve and the pastoral Bakgalagadi* and the question of livestock in the same park.

Further we have the forthcoming (early 1991) cultural conference among the Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania. Linked to this type of processes are the first signs of **organizations** similar to indigenous organizations in other parts of the world - like the abovementioned Pastoral Association and the Tuareg NGO **Vivre sur Terre**. In West Africa the World Bank now acknowledges the importance of pastoral associations for environmentally sound land tenure and has financed a programme to promote such organizations.

Secondly, we have observed an increased interest in **self-development/ethno-development projects and self-determination** in various corners of Africa (IWGIA has f. ex. had contacts with *Tuaregs, Issak/Somali, Ogadenians*, groups of "Bushmen" in Namibia/Botswana, *Turkana, Barabaig, Maasai and Pygmies*). In these situations there is a either a discontent with the complete lack of attention and development efforts by their national governments, or if development projects are implemented, a deep dissatisfaction with the lack of concern for the wishes of local groups and their aspirations as to the content and direction of development initiatives.

The demands for reorientation includes issues like economic development, education, religious freedom, self-determination and cultural autonomy. The processes mentioned so far, not merely highlight the marginal position of many African groups, but also focus on their own efforts to create a future on an independent basis.

There is a need to address, in a dialogue between representatives of African groups as well as various researchers, how to analyze such processes as we have outlined above. Is the concept **indigenous peoples** - or other more common concepts like ethnic group, tribe, nation, minority - particularly suited to analyze the trends we have observed? IWGIA f. ex. have both been approached by groups who consider to use the concept indigenous peoples in their struggles (eg. the *Beija* in Sudan) and others who may feel that application of fixed concepts acts as a straitjacket preventing a much needed discussion and problem definition (Tuaregs from Mali).

We also have to consider the considerable debate and resistance our discussions may create. African governments, political groupings, scholars and others may well attack IWGIA or African groups for promoting tribalism, new forms of apartheid and human zoos.

IWGIA is currently planning a separate **Workshop on the question of indigenous peoples in Africa**, hopefully for early 1992. The workshop papers and discussions will be published in an IWGIA document. The workshop and the report will be actively used in four different contexts:

1) Within IWGIAs South-South project and in publications such as the IWGIA Documents and IWGIA Newsletter. Experiences and discussions stemming from Africa will be introduced to a global audience, especially readers in Third World countries, concerned with indigenous rights, self-development and human rights in general.
2) The issues and experiences will be communicated to relevant national and international bodies for their consideration and possible action (national governments, human rights organizations, development agencies, indigenous organizations, UN institutions).
3) Through the networks of IWGIA and collaborating institutions the issues will be introduced to a wide range of scientific institutions, libraries and concerned organizations and individuals.
4) The workshop and the material assembled may be used as comparative material for the IWGIA Research Project on Self-Determination (Peru, Brazil, Alaska).

We also have the intention, in cooperation with African scholars, individuals and organizations to follow up the debate that may arise from such a workshop. Further, we will discuss a possible partnership with institutions like the PANOS Institute London/Paris in order to ensure a broad mass media coverage on the question of indigenous peoples in Africa.

In order to strengthen the debate on the concept on indigenous peoples in Africa as well as to improve the documentation on the situation of various peoples in Africa, IWGIA invites contributions for the Newsletter and possibly also for IWGIA's Documentation series. Individuals that are interested in promoting IWGIA's reporting on Africa is encouraged to contact our secretariat in Copenhagen.

Sources: Africa Economic Digest, Africa Recovery.

NORTHERN AFRICA

In **Algeria** some hundred thousand demonstrators took to the streets in the last days of December to protest a new language legislation. First of all the law has been passed to replace the widely used colonial language French with Arabic in all official matters. A secondary consequence is that the *Berber* speaking part of the population, roughly a third of the 27 million inhabitants in the country, will be seriously affected by the new law. A large number of the Berbers do not speak any other language than their mother tongue. The law prescribes fines and even imprisonment if any other language than Arabic is used in communication with official bodies. The law will also affect the urban communities which have used French for decades.

The Berbers in Algeria (also residing in other North African states like Morocco and Tunisia) played an active role in the liberation war against French colonial rule, yet they have never been granted their rightful position in society compared to the majority Arabic population.

After 15 years of war in **Western Sahara** between the occupying forces of Morocco and the liberation movement, the Polisario Front (Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro), some 170 000 to 185 000 refugees are still waiting in camps in Algeria for a solution to the decolonization issue. Yet, the efforts of the United Nations (UN) Secretary General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his special representative, Mr Johannes Manz and the Technical Commission on the Western Sahara, have created an atmosphere of cautious optimism, and the prospects are brighter than they were 12 months ago.

The UN has started preparations for a referendum over the future of the Western Sahara. While the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) proclaimed in 1976, is recognized by 74 countries (mainly Third World states), the former Spanish colony is facing serious problems with Morocco, who is now occupying most of the territory and fighting a war with the Polisario. The Moroccans have built a wall of defense (a sand barrage with sophisticated vibration detectors and modern weaponry), and since 1981, the Polisario has not been able to undertake much more than hit-and-run operations. The troops of the liberation front are estimated to count between 5 000 and 15 000 men. The Western Sahara has one of the most fertile fishing coasts in the world and is rich in phosphate and mineral deposits and, possibly, also oil.

In 1990, the parties to the conflict have held proximity talks. In the occupied territories, liberated areas and refugee camps *Sahrawi* elders have met to verify electoral lists. The UN Technical Commission has drafted a timetable for the negotiations and plans for an interim administration. However, Morocco continues to refuse to participate in direct negotiations, as demanded in the OAU (Organization for African Unity) and the UN peace plan. The Moroccan administration has raised objections to the other parts of the plan of the Technical Commission. Among other things, they are not willing to withdraw the Moroccan administration and the bulk of the 160 000 troops, before the referendum is held.

For the Polisario, the situation has become difficult as the relations between Morocco and the liberation front's main ally, Algeria, has gradually improved. The Algerians have shown signs of war-weariness, mainly because of the economic crisis in the last few years. The liberation front has drawn its support from a number of groups in the Western Sahara (*Tekna, Oulad Dlim, Oulad Tidrarine - Laaroussyine and the Reguibat*) and there are constant reports on tribal rivalries between the groups. Disagreements in the leadership as well as defections to Morocco has added to the political malaise. Yet, the Polisario slogan "Kullil watan aw shihada" (all the homeland or martyrdom) still very much reflects the spirit in the liberation front.

In November, Amnesty International issued a report documenting several disappearances of *Sahrawis* in territories under Moroccan administration, as well as the torture of prisoners. In February, the European Parliament protested the abuse of human rights in Morocco; the Europeans were especially concerned about the missing Sahrawis.

Sources: African Events, Information, West Africa.

WEST AFRICA

In north-eastern **Mali** and in **Niger**, governmental troops have massacred, as well as severely repressed and persecuted the *Tuareg* people - traditionally a nomadic pastoral people in the drylands of the Sahara and the bordering

A Tuareg camp in Mali. It is civilians who live in camps like this that have been the major victims of the Malian arm's retaliations after rebel attacks. (Photo: IWGIA archives)

Sahel region. The Tuaregs are also known as the *Kel Tamacheq* - the people who speak **tamacheq**. They are further commonly referred to as the Blue People of Sahara and Sahel, due to the indigo blue turbans worn by the men.

Today the Tuareg number about 1 million people, and they live in the following North- and West-African states: Algeria, Libya, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Nigeria. While the incidents in Mali have included Tuareg rebel attacks on the police or military forces, the response has been retaliations against innocent civilians including many children, women and old people. In Niger, the estimate of dead Tuaregs vary between 600 to 1 700; in Mali, one source tells that 277 Tuaregs have been killed, but the total death toll is not known yet. Both IWGIA and Amnesty International have cabled protests to the governments of Mali and Niger.

The massacres followed a more or less forced relocation, early in 1990, of thousands of Tuaregs who had been illegal residents in Algeria and Libya since the last Sahelian drought of 1984-86. In Niger, a series of contacts between the Tuaregs led to a swift settlement of the conflict, while in Mali the armed conflict continued into late autumn.

IWGIA Newsletter no 62 presented what is currently the most extensive report on the Tuareg case available internationally. Apart from a chronology of the events in 1990, some background information and notes on the history and current political positions, IWGIA published a translation of the important Tuareg document "We, the Tuaregs". IWGIA also printed a translation of an interview with the Tuareg rebel leader, M. Iyad Ag Ghali, of the Tuareg Liberation Movement. IWGIA also presented **Tilalt**, a newly formed Tuareg solidarity organization based in Paris, France.

In the first days of 1991, the Malian authorities and the Tuaregs reached an astonishing agreement. The agreement was signed after the IWGIA Newsletter went to press. The agreement included a form of self-determination for the populations of the three northern districts of Mali (government troops will be withdrawn, northerners will take positions in the administration, the north will decide on allocation of resources, as well as select and reject development projects, etc.).

The agreement seems to be quite unique, and IWGIA intends to publish the full text of the Agreement and comments to it in **IWGIA Newsletter no 63**.

While the government of **Mauritania** pursues its policy of genocide against its own citizens who are mainly from the *Peul (Fulani)* ethnic group, Senegalese and Mauritanians continue to face each other along the **Senegal** river, now representing their contested border.

In 1990, Mauritanian troops have had frequent clashes with **Malian** troops following repeated Mauritanian incursions across their common border. The tense situation is a direct result of the pogroms and expulsions of black Mauritanians starting in April 1989. The grave incidents are said to be part of a Mauritanian governmental policy, of not just ridding the country of foreign nationals, but also of black Mauritanian citizens who are an obstacle to the *arabisation* of the country. Some 30 000 black Mauritanians have been expelled and 50 000 more fled the country. Up to 1 000 people were killed, most of them Senegalese citizens. Other victims came from Mauritanian Peul (Fulani), *Wolof, Soninké* communities, plus Malians, Guineans and Ivorians. The killers were reported to be the *Haratines*, former slaves of the *Beydane* community which dominates Mauritania. Some 60 Heratine and Beydane have died in Senegal from revenge attacks, while 70 000 members of these two groups fled Senegal. In 1990 the refugee population was up to 80 000 in Senegal and 20 000 in Mali.

Sources: Africa Confidential, Dagbladet, IWGIA Newsletter no 62.

THE HORN OF AFRICA

Contrary to many expectations, the regime of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam in **Ethiopia** did not fall in 1990. A number of the circa half a dozen ethnic liberation movements made important military advances, yet the political situation and the disunity within and between the movements are increasingly creating complications. The efforts in the direction of new rounds of peace talks have not really taken off during the year.

In **Eritrea** the EPLF (Eritrean People's Liberation Front) won the battle over the strategic harbour of Massawa in February. The Ethiopian Army is still in control of important towns and areas in Eritrea, but the capture of Massawa was an immense moral and military defeat. The EPLF maintains that the independence from Ethiopia after more than two decades of liberation war is close at hand.

South of Eritrea, the TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front) and its allies have remained in control of whole of the **Tigray** and parts of the *Amhara*-dominated provinces of Gonder, Wollo and Shoa - the very ethnic power base of the government in Addis Ababa. Troops from the EPDRF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front - this front is dominated by the TPLF) have been within close distance of the capital several times during the year, nevertheless they have not ventured to launch an offensive. The Ethiopian military forces collapses faster than the liberation groups can take advantage of the situation that this new situation presents. The TPLF and other groups have problems in building a civil administration in liberated areas. Further, the imminent hunger catastrophe also makes the TPLF reluctant to take on too cumbersome tasks at the moment. They also fear a power vacuum in Addis Ababa, and no counterpart to negotiate with, on future developments in the country.

The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) operates in Western Ethiopia and in parts of the Ogaden. The *Oromos* make up about 50 % of the population in Ethiopia. After a period of relative silence, the OLF resumed its military activity towards the end of 1990 with several attacks on government positions in the Wollega, Asosa and Harargue provinces.

The new international political situation caused by the changes in the

Ethiopian refugee child in Somali where greatest numbers of refugees are found.
(Photo: UNCHR, Julie Jessen Petersen)

Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has had important implications for the government in Ethiopia. Having lost the economic and military support of the Soviet dominated block, and being under increasing pressure from peasants in Ethiopia and military pressure from the various liberation movements, President Mengistu was forced to launch a new policy in March.

The ruling party is now open to non-marxists, and opposition groups are invited to join in the political process. On the economic front, the decisive role of the state is to be exchanged with a mixed economy. Peasants are to have full usage rights to their land, to employ workers and to leave the land for their children to inherit. However, the ownership of the land is retained by the government. The Ethiopian brand of **perestroika** was generally welcomed in the capital while the EPLF, TPLF and OLF rejected the reforms as superficial alternations.

After many months of difficult negotiations, the Ethiopian government and the EPLF agreed in December to open the port of Massawa so that international humanitarian food aids could reach its destinations in parts of the country where people are dying of starvation. Cross border relief operations from the Sudan can not reach all affected areas, and as there is hunger in Sudan there is a limited transport capacity as well as handling capacity in the harbour of Port Sudan.

While the pressure on the government is strong and increasing, Mengistu is widely regarded as the only, albeit unpopular, defender of Ethiopian national unity. His credibility may be nil, but overthrowing him may not be the best policy for the TPLF/EPDRF, which is still unable to rally much support outside Tigray for its view of a future Ethiopia. Further Mengistu has been seen as a defender against Muslim expansion among the Coptic Christians in Ethiopia, a point which has been stressed as the Israeli moved in to fill the vacuum created by the withdrawal of Soviet support.

There is also a growing concern about the ethnic bitterness that is now apparent. On the one hand, the EPLF claims government forces used Eritreans and Tigrayans as hostages at Massawa. While the town was under heavy attacks from the EPLF, only Amharas were evacuated. On the other hand, survivors of the joint EPLF-OLF victory of the town Assosa has reported that the liberation movements divided captives by nationality and executed many Amharas. The government in Addis Ababa has been able to play this up, almost to the same extent as when the TPLF in 1989 praised Albania and Josef Stalin.

While Mengistu has been able to utilize the mistrust and uncertainty associated with TPLF's ultra-leftist policies, the TPLF have run into political conflicts, while trying to become the major and dominating actor in what they hope to be future peace talks on Ethiopia. Contrary to the EPLF and the OLF, the TPLF does not aim for secession and independence from Ethiopia, but for self-determination within a democratic and united Ethiopian nation state. Again, Mengistu has been able to use the issue of Ethiopian nationalism and the dangers of disintegration in a divide-and-rule fashion.

The TPLF 1989 announcement on hard-line socialism also included unqualified support for immediate Eritrean independence. However, after realizing that these issues lost them a lot of support, the TPLF now, contrary to the EPLF, proposes that the only possible solution is an internationally supervised referendum on Eritrea, after a transitional government has been organized in Ethiopia. The new multi-party democracy stand in TPLF has been highlighted by its emphasis that "all" organizations can join the EPDRF (but not including the monarchists and other opposition groups). The TPLF has been instrumental in the creation of new groups, like a movement for officers (EDORM) that have been joining the EPDRF in the last year.

After failing to get support from the *Oromo* people, the TPLF's creation of the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) particularly annoyed the existing Oromo organization OLF. Likewise the TPLF is regarded as being behind the Democratic Movement for Liberation of Eritrea (DMLE). The augmentation of groups connected to the TPLF/EPDRF is seen by many as a deliberate move to ensure a TPLF majority in a transitional government. So far, the mistrust of the TPLF brand of democratic pluralism remains as substantial as the mistrust of the government of President Mengistu and their efforts to appear as the main opposition to the regime in Addis Ababa, is strongly denied by the other armed movements.

On the banks of the Red Sea, the *Afar* question also underlines the complex political and military situation of this region. The land of the Ethiopian Afars constitutes a strategic area both for the Ethiopian government and the liberation fronts, particularly for access from Tigray to the sea. All parties on the Ethiopian scene have tried to build their own alliances and train militias and fighters. Covering about an eighth of Ethiopia and with about one million inhabitants, the **Afar** region includes five provinces: Wollo, Harargue, Shoa, Tigrai and Eritrea. In the rich Awash Valley, huge state farms have been set up by the Ethiopian government. This is where clashes between the government and Afar nomadic pastoralists, having suffered from the recent famines and lost land to the large-scale farms, most frequently occur.

The EPLF claim for an independent Eritrea up to the port of Assab, is in contradiction to the TPLF's recent recognition of an Afar regional entity based on Afar claims for autonomy. The authorities in Addis Ababa have already created an autonomous Afar province, but the TPLF promise for the future, within a democratic Ethiopia, includes a larger tract of land. The Afar people have created their own liberation organizations since the early sixties. In Tigray, for example, the *Ugugumo* is fighting the TPLF over the control of the important Barahle salt mines, while the EPLF has often taken violent action against the Afars in conflicts over the Dankalie area.

The various liberation movements involved in armed resistance, and a liberation war against the Ethiopian government, have received press coverage to the extent that many believe that they are the only opponents to the current Ethiopian government. Yet the opposition also includes other left-wing groups, social democrat-minded conservatives, right-wing monarchists, and independent individuals and intellectuals. The only thing these opposition groups have in common, is their desire to see Mengistu fall. The future status of Eritrea and Ethiopian unity is one major field of disagreements.

In the **Ogaden**, the *Ogadenians* have for over a century been victims of colonization and regional disputes. Whereas all people in the Horn of Africa are victims of persecution and oppression, other areas at least receive some media coverage and humanitarian aid, while the Ogaden and its people remain "forgotten". The conditions which have caused their alienation and suffering, that is, the last major upheaval being the war between Ethiopia and Somalia over the Ogaden in 1977-78, still remain, and consequently many have been forced to leave their land as refugees in foreign countries.

The largest number of these landless and homeless people live in refugee camps in Somalia, in conditions which are extremely difficult, with insufficient food, lack of health care and education. Moreover, the refugees have been caught up in internal Somali conflicts. Refugee settlements have been subjected to erratic attacks by rebel forces attempting to overthrow the Somali government. On the other hand, the Somali Security Forces have been recruiting youths for the army and in the later years, larger groups of young people have disappeared. There are reports on torture of parents who tried to prevent this enforced conscription.

In Somalia the refugees have been sustained by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNCHR). A point of disagreement over the refugee's ethnic status is the claim that people from the Ogaden is ethnically *Somali*, and thus not in need for resettlement programmes in Somalia. Others ask why have the people been living in Somalia as refugees for over twelve years if they were true Somalis.

The UN signed a much criticized agreement with Somalia and Ethiopia last year which will encourage the refugees to become Somali citizens. A sign of the forgotten status of the area is that the planned repatriation of Ogadeni refugees is almost unknown, yet it is the largest refugee operation in the history of the UNCHR. The repatriation was planned to include 167 000 refugees out of the 445 000 Ethiopian refugees in Somalia (the Ogadenians themselves estimate the number of refugees to exceed one million), but did not progress as planned, due to financial constraints. The plans only included repatriation of some of the refugees, as about 70 percent of the Ethiopian refugees wanted to stay in Somalia for the time being. The reluctance to return may be explained by the current situation in Ethiopia, where the government has introduced resettlement schemes for other groups in Ogaden, land confiscation and villagisation campaigns contradictory to the interest of the Ogadenians. Further, there are reports on confiscation of property, both among pastoralists, peasants and urban populations, rapes of young girls and persecution and unexplained disappearances of those criticizing the policy of the government.

In October the Ogadenia Action Group (OAG) in London reported that many refugees were denied food rations, particularly in the Northwestern regions of Somalia, but also in the Southern and Central regions. Food was only offered to those agreeing to return to Ethiopia. According to the OAG, this was a food ration streamlining policy on the part of the UNCHR. The OAG also recounted how the UNCHR and the International Community for the Red Cross (ICRC) carried out forced repatriation on three occasions in the period June to August 1990. Ethiopian military vehicles supposedly took the refugees to a settlement east of Harar. An NGO confirmed that only children and women were to be seen in the reception camp, as the men had been forcibly conscribed for the Ethiopian army's war against the liberation movements.

The civil war in **Somalia** which first started in the north between the *Issaq*- supported rebel organization Somali National Movement (SNM) and government troops, began to spread to other parts of the country, in the latter half of 1989 and with greater force during 1990. The Issaq, numbering some 700 000, are one of the principle branches of the Somali nation. During the last decade, they have suffered severe government repression and human rights abuses. However, also other branches of the Somali nation living in other parts of the country, have gradually turned antagonistic towards the corruption and mismanagement of President Siad Barre's government. Extensive fighting have taken place in the south in the Kismayo area, between government forces and the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), mostly recruited from the Ogadeni branch. In central Somalia, fierce clashes have occurred between the United Somali Congress (USC), mainly *Hawiye* in composition, and army regulars. At the end of 1990, rebel forces controlled a major part of the country, and late in December they approached and invaded Mogadishu, the capital.

Since the coup in **Sudan** last year, the Islamic fundamentalists (National Islamic Front - NIF) have tightened their control of the government of the Revolutionary Command Council of National Salvation (RCC) in Khartoum, a development which has united the disparate opposition groups. A Libyan system of government is advocated. The war between the North and the South continues with tremendous suffering and destruction, and the prospects for peace are further away than ever. The junta has clearly emerged as a minority government and they have had to clamp down hard on a hostile population. Severe drought and the prospects for a major famine for 1991 are likely to plunge the country into a crisis.

Opposition groups have been moving steadily close together. The civilian parties active in the previous government of El Sadiq el Mahdi (except NIF) and the unions, drew up a common charter in October 1989, while the southern liberation movement SPLA (Sudanese People's Liberation Army) joined in March 1990. The allies of the former Sudanese Prime Minister (the Umma party), who the Sudanese public largely considers as being responsible for the current state of affairs in the Sudan, have drawn up a pact with the SPLA. On the view of the SPLA, the interest of the recent agreement lies in the hope that it may influence the *Baggara* militias active in South Kordofan and Northern Darfur and the *Fertit* militias in Bahr el Ghazal. The Khartoum government is said to use armed militias in order to destabilize and cut off local support to the SPLA (see **IWGIA Yearbook 1989**). The opposition front, known as the National Democratic Forces Forum, is setting up offices abroad. Even in northern Sudan it is widely said that only the SPLA can save Sudan. The SPLA made further military advances in 1990 both along the Nile at Melut, and in the south along the border to Zaïre and the Central African Republic; it now controls large areas of southern Sudan. With the exception of occasional air force bombing raids, life is gradually returning to normal in SPLA-held areas. The tense situation in Sudan also revealed internal differences in the south. The 1989 accusations of harsh policies of the SPLA towards civilian populations, the use of food as a weapon, and the *Dinka* domination in the liberation movement emerged again. However, it has been reported that the ethnic groups of Western Equatoria (*Madi, Bari* and especially *Azande*) are losing their reserved attitude towards the SPLA.

In Sudan's Far West, a complex situation has arisen including a *Fur*-based political movement and an armed militia and links to other tribes such as the border-crossing *Messalit* as well as *Rezeigat Arabs*. There are links also to the *Zaghawa* group, to which Colonel Déby belongs, the man who came to power in Chad in December. Among the western groups there are disagreements among those who want to build an alliance with the southerners of the SPLA, and others who seeks relations with Chad. Nevertheless, the ultimate aim of most of the opposition groups is to arrive at negotiations which will put an end to seven years of a civil war which has ruined the country.

Famine is encroaching on populations in the South, the North and the West and all indicators suggest that it may be more devastating than in 1984-85. In the Red Sea Hills, there are already reports on deaths among the pastoral *Beija*. From the Red Sea Province, *Darfur and Kordofan* people have migrated to the towns to look for food. In the south, *Nuer*-land is particularly badly hit.

Sources: Adulis, Africa Confidential, The Economist Intelligence Unit - Country Reports, The Indian Ocean Newsletter, Ogaden News, Ogadenia Action Group, People's Voice, reports and communications to IWGIA and meetings with representatives from the Horn of Africa.

EAST AFRICA

The *Barabaig* in Tanzania, a pastoral group of some 30 000 people, are continuing their struggle over grazing resources and title to land against the National Agricultural and Food Cooperation (NAFCO). With the help of the Legal Aid Committee (LAC) at the university of Dar es Salaam, the Barabaig have taken the issue to the court several times. The background to the conflict, in brief, is this: In the Barabaig area, extensive acreage of the highest quality grazing land has been expropriated for commercial wheat production. Many Barabaig families have been driven off the land by force, and without

Expropriation of Barabaig land constitutes violation of their traditional rights as well as human rights aside from the wanton disregard for the environment. (Photo: NORAD/Rune Eraker)

compensation. The Canadian Aid Agency (CIDA) has supported extensive wheat production in Tanzania since 1968. The Tanzania-Canada Wheat programme is, in fact, one of the biggest bilateral aid schemes in the country. Aproximately 270 km^2 of former Barabaig pasture land has been expropriated for large-scale wheat production so far.

During 1990, individual Barabaig pastoralists were continuously taken to court for criminal trespass, and held in custody. The sums of money being levied in fines are crippling for people who live largely outside the cash economy. The central issue is that the Barabaig are being charged with criminal trespass on land that they claim to be their own. However, even if NAFCO is awarded title to land, the original offers of a Right of Occupancy guaranteed existing rights of way across the NAFCO farms. Because of their pastoral way of life the Barabaig are often regarded as a "primitive" people unable to adjust to life in modern Tanzania. In fact, the Barabaig response to NAFCO's seizure of their land has been one of restraint, non-violence and the pursuit of their cause through the courts. By contrast, NAFCO and the government, the forces of "modernization", have resorted to harassment, bullying, beating and interference in the judicial process.

Sources: IWGIA Newsletter, nos.60-61,1990; Africa Watch, 12 March, 1990.

CENTRAL AFRICA

On 1 October, a force of up to 5 000 Rwandan refugees, mainly ethnic *Tutsis* invaded **Rwanda** from Uganda. The invasion was a total disaster for the invaders from the Rwanda Patriotic Forces (RPF), and hundreds of lives were lost. After the defeat, the RPF has turned to a guerilla campaign to sap the

In Central Africa, pygmies and other indigenous populations face enormous hazards from the pressure on forest resources.

government's strength. The Tutsis are one of the two tribes that dominate Rwanda and neighbouring **Burundi**. There are 250 000 Rwandan refugees in Uganda (mostly Tutsis). The invaders are opposed to the successive governments, led by the majority *Hutu* population, who have persecuted the Tutsis ever since the Hutus overthrew the Tutsi monarchy in 1959. The invaders were also joined by anti-government Hutu exiles. The moment the Rwanda government was assured of support by the intervention of foreign troops (Belgian, French and Zaïrian), a **pogrom** started against the innocents, who were accused of being behind the invasion. Scores of Tutsis were detained by the army. The persecution of Tutsis led many to flee to Uganda, where within two weeks the number of refugees had risen to 4 000. The refugees reported on massacres and summary executions in their villages. One refugee claimed that as many as 1 500 people have been killed in three villages in Ngarama commune alone.

The incident threatens to explode into widespread violence as old animosities have been reawakened, not only in Rwanda but also in Burundi and among Hutu refugees in Tanzania. Burundi presents a mirror-image of Rwanda as it is the Tutsi (about 15%) who dominate the majority Hutu (about 84%) and who have twice launched murderous pogroms, last in 1988

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

(see **IWGIA Yearbook 1989**). In Burundi there are about 200 000 Tutsi refugees of Rwandan origin, while Tanzania plays host to 200 000 Hutus of Burundian origin. In both Rwanda and Burundi, a large number of people compete for a restricted land base. The Rwandan government has already refused to resettle Tutsi refugees on the grounds that the country is already over-populated. Yet, that consideration has not prevented the government from receiving Burundian Hutus fleeing the pogroms of 1988.

Burundi has started a slow process of reform since 1987, yet some Hutus say they are frustrated by the slow pace of change, dismissing the reforms as cosmetic. Many Tanzanian-based refugees have been radicalized by their experience. 15 Hutu leaders were jailed in 1989, and one of them, Rémi Gahatu of the opposition group, *Partie pour la libération du peuple hutu* (PALIPEHUTU), died in August in a Dar es Salaam prison in unexplained circumstances. Other opposition groups include the more moderate *Front démocratique du Burundu* (FRODEBU) and the militant Ubumwé party who recently launched a military attack on an army base in southern Burundi.

The some 200 000 *Pygmies* in **Central Africa** and other *traditional forest populations* (horticulturalists, hunters, fisher folk), face continuing hazards from the increased pressure on the tropical forest resource from lumber and mining companies, government policies and an influx of immigrant farmers from outside the forest. The situation of the **African rainforest**, and especially the **Central African Forest Bloc** is presented in this Yearbook's section called Indigenous Focus (see pages ....).

From **Uganda** it has been reported that the country's population of *Pygmies*, now down to about 100, may soon become extinct because they refuse medical attention and reject modern living styles. The information was presented to the government-owned newspaper **New Vision** by government doctors. In Uganda the Pygmies are living behind a spur of the Ruwenzori mountains, a remote area in the west of the country. Judged by the scant documentation at hand so far, it remains to be seen if the doctors' warning is based on a genuine Pygmy need of medical treatment and immunization or on a more general government plan or wish to integrate or even assimilate this group of hunter-gatherers.

Sources: Africa Confidential, Africa Research Bulletin/Political Series, Burundi Newsletter, New African.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

In **Malawi** the favourization of southerners continues under the autocratic government of President for Life, Hastings Banda. In the southern and central regions of the country, *Nyanja*-speaking groups are dominating. In the last years northerners in Malawi have experienced arrests, torture, political assassinations, killings, detention and other kinds of persecution. On the economic front, the government of Banda has deliberately starved the north

153

of development, as all economic projects are concentrated in the south and central regions. On 20 March, demonstrators were massacred as they protested the release of a merchant that had killed a man for stealing s small quantity of corn. Banda tolerates no form of opposition, and a recent report from **Africa Watch** criticised persecution of both individuals and the general persecution of northerners .

In the report, President Banda is being compared to Kim il-Sung of North Korea or the late Ceauceauscu of Romania. The human rights organizations Africa Watch and Amnesty International have been denied access to the country for many years.

From **Botswana**, Survival International reports that the campaigns against the forced relocation of the *G/wi* and the *G//ana (San or Bushmen)* and the pastoral *Bakgalagadi* from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) has succeeded. Survival International has been told by the Botswana government that it does not intend to move the CKGR inhabitants by force. Survival International adds that celebration of the news should be cautious, until one is assured that their long-term future is secure. As far as IWGIA understands, a crucial point is the future of the RAD programme (Remote Area Dwellers) in the CKGR. For a decade and a half the government has been providing technical (drilling of wells) and other kinds of assistance (health and school facilities) to the inhabitants of the CKGR. While the government will not go for a forced relocation, all technical and social services in the park area itself will be abandoned.

The independence of **Namibia** in April did not bring peace to all the inhabitants of this former colony. The Namibian *Ju/wa (Bushmen)* have again been caught up in the politics of the region. In the 1989 IWGIA Yearbook we reported on the heavy militarization of the Bushmen under South African command. In March some 4 000 former Bushmen soldiers and their families of the Bushman Battalion of the South African Army were airlifted to Schidtsdrift in the Republic of South Africa. In South Africa local farmers complained that there was no sufficient land to resettle the Bushmen.

It was reported that the former South African administration felt that the Bushmen were in danger from Namibia's independence forces. The Namibia's President-elect Mr Sam Nujoma, has expressed his deep concern about the removal of the Bushmen to South Africa. He was quoted as saying that this was "simply exploiting the ignorance of poor people who do not know what being a national of another state is".

The former commander of the SADF (South African Defence Force) Bushman battalion, Colonel Hall, expressed that the Bushmen were afraid that the new government would act against them after independence, because the Bushman soldiers had opposed SWAPO (South West African People's Organization, the Namibian liberation movement) in a low intensity bush war in the past 23 years in the north of Namibia. Mr Nujoma denied such allegations and said that there "was a desire on the part of all political groups and parties to secure conciliation". He added that from SWAPO's side, no action against these people was being considered on account of the participation in combat.

Most of these former Bushman-speaking soldiers were housed at the Omega base in western Caprivi. One of the sadder aspects concerning these people was the excessive use of liquor. Miserable conditions ensued for the soldiers and their dependents as a result of this abuse.

Sources: Dagbladet, The Namibian, reports received by IWGIA, Survival, Times, Windhoek Advertiser, Windhoek Observer.

Indigenous Rights

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Report on the Eight Session of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations

by Andrew Gray and Jens Dahl

The Working Group on Indigenous Populations meets at Geneva every year during the last week in July and the first week in August in order to review developments which have taken place in the indigenous world and draw up a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Working Group consists of five independent experts: Erica Daes (Greece), Miguel Alfonso Martinez (Cuba), Danilo Türk (Yugoslavia), Christian Mbono (Nigeria) and Ribot Hatano (Japan).

These experts are chosen by the experts on the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the UN to look into the rights of indigenous peoples. The report of the Working Group passes to the Sub-Commission which meets every year for four weeks during August. The parent body of the Sub-Commission is the United Nations Commission on Human Rights which consists of government representatives.

The WGIP meets at Geneva every year to review developments in the indigenous world and to draw up a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The working group is the fifth and lowest level of discussion on human rights questions in the UN. (Photo: Andrew Gray)

It meets for six weeks in February every year. The Commission is responsible to the Economic and Social Council of the UN which is responsible to the General Assembly. The Working Group is therefore the fifth and lowest level of discussion on human rights questions in the United Nations.

Part 1: Standard Setting Activities

For 1990, the Working Group was extended from its usual one week session to two weeks. The idea was to devote more time to drafting the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The United Nations, however, refused to grant the extended meeting any extra facilities. This meant that no translations were available for the Spanish-speaking indigenous participants. The whole meeting reacted strongly against this discriminatory decision.

"Standard setting activities" have become the main focus of the Working Group in recent years. At the first plenary meeting of the Working Group on 23 July, three drafting groups were established.

The discussion centred on an analytical commentary on the draft principles for a declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples by Erica Daes. Each group commented on the original text (first reading) and then elaborated a revision which would be approved by the drafting meeting (second reading). The second week of the Working Group then discussed the findings of the three groups.

The three groups were:

1. Land and resources under Miguel Alfonso Martinez.
2. Political rights and autonomy under Danilo Türk.
3. All other principles under Erica Daes.

Each of the groups also revised the Preamble.

The drafting groups consisted of indigenous representatives and Working Group members (Dr. Hatano participated in the session on land and resources). A few governments also attended the meetings. Whereas it had been assumed that governments would play an important part in the discussions, they were, with very few exceptions, silent. They observed the proceedings and took note of the comments, but provided little substantial contribution to the meetings. Reasons for this varied from the defensive position of the influential Canadian government over the Mohawk question, to a general reluctance by governments to enter into open debate with indigenous peoples.

The drafting for each group came up with clear revisions to the original draft of Erica Daes. The first group rewrote the Preamble and established a strong set of principles for the protection of the lands and resources of indigenous peoples. Particularly important was the emphasis on the concept of territories, to refer to an area belonging to indigenous peoples rather than just land. Furthermore, the importance of indigenous peoples controlling their own development was stressed.

The second drafting group also substantially altered the original draft.

Autonomy was firmly replaced by the concept of self-determination and a strengthening of political rights was apparent. During the discussion several approaches dealing with the controversy over the concept of self-determination were presented.

The third drafting group under Erica Daes changed the text the least. However several significant amendments were made, covering cultural and social rights. The important addition of recognising the intellectual property rights of indigenous peoples was also discussed.

The result of the three drafting groups was a marked shift in the emphasis of the draft declaration towards the ideas and concepts which indigenous peoples have been advocating for several years. Wording was produced, which, if not perfect, was substantially more satisfactory for the indigenous peoples for whom the declaration is intended to protect.

The plenary session of the second week discussed the results of the drafting groups for one day. There were several general responses:

1. Indigenous Peoples

Because of the lack of translation facilities, indigenous peoples were critical of the whole procedure. In spite of the boycott, several indigenous people remained in the drafting rooms to ensure that the lack of participation would not lead to a weakening of the draft.

After the revision of the draft , indigenous peoples were, on the whole, satisfied at the direction in which the declaration was moving. However it was far too soon to make any definite pronouncement as leaders in their communities have yet to be consulted and the results discussed further with the Spanish-speaking participants.

The exercise of two weeks would have been satisfactory provided that sufficient facilities and financial means had been available for indigenous peoples to attend and to express their point of view.

Some indigenous participants felt that the principles were still too weak and drafted in too complicated a manner, while others were surprised that the principles were so strong. However all the indigenous participants were for once united in their feeling, that the exercise was in the main positive, and that the results were a step in the right direction.

2. The members of the Working Group expressed their satisfaction with the exercise.

Of all the drafts of the Preamble, that of Miguel Alfonso Martinez received most support. The direction in which the drafting had gone appeared to please the members of the Working Group who urged governments to take more part in the discussions in future.

3. The governments made some comments.

Whereas Australia, New Zealand and Norway were largely favourable to the results of the drafting groups, Venezuela, Argentina and Brazil took a more critical position. They argued against the use of the terms peoples, territories, self-determination and consent.

The Working Group decided on two main points:

1. The Working Group's Chairman-Rapporteur will consolidate the findings of the three working groups into one text with an analytical commentary for governments and indigenous peoples to discuss at a two week meeting next year.
2. The Working Group would encourage a tripartite discussion on the of principles consisting of the members of the Working Group, Indigenous Peoples and Governments. They hope to increase the amount of direct discussion in the next meeting.

Part 2 - Review of Developments

Apart from discussing the drafting of the Declaration, the second week of the Working Group reviewed developments in the indigenous world.

The Americas

Many speeches from North America were influenced by the conflict in the Mohawk communities of Oka-Kanesatake and Kahnawake, Quebec. The Canadian government has never recognised Kanesatake claims to reserve-land, but blocks of land have been set aside for them. Thus, when the small community of Oka (in which the Kanesatake live) announced a plan to establish a golf course on land claimed by the Kanesatake, the latter blocked a road into the area. They were later supported by the Kahnawake (living within urban Montreal) who raised barricades over a main bridge leading into Montreal. During these incidents a policeman was shot near Oka. The police claimed that he was shot by Kanesatake warriors and retaliated. Among the means used to reduce the Indians was cutting off supplies of food.

During the Working Group, the Canadian government announced that they had bought the disputed area in order to let the Kanesatake dispose of it. However, the negotiations to remove the barricades had not started and the long-standing claims as put forward by the Indians had not been accepted while the Working Group was sitting.

Listening to several presentations, one had the impression that social and political unrest is growing in all Indian reserves and communities in North America. This is supported by the fact that the Kanesatake have gained wide support from many reservations and not only from nearby Kahnawake.

Also from Canada, the failure of the Meech Lake Accord has given new hope to indigenous peoples. The adoption of the accord would have given the (French) population of Quebec special status in the Canadian Constitution - but not indigenous people. Furthermore it would have made it extremely difficult for the Inuit ever to have their own province.

Ever more disturbing reports came from Latin America. Torture and killings are increasing in Guatemala, where several presentations focused on the ineffective control of the democratic institutions over the outrages committed by the armed forces. From South America mass killings were reported from Peru while the ever-increasing destruction of the Yanomami from Brazil received several presentations.

Both in Chile and Argentina the importance of securing indigenous people's land rights and liberties within a democratic system was emphasised. There was also some discussion of the importance of treaties signed by the Mapuche with Spain, Argentina and Chile.

Europe and the USSR

The Nordic Saami Council, who in 1990 hosted the WCIP meeting in Tromso, was represented from Norway, Sweden and Finland. The Norwegian delegate spoke of the development and initial work of the Saami Parliament. The Saami are increasing their contacts with their relatives in the Kola peninsula of the USSR.

For the first time the indigenous people of the USSR were represented at the Working Group. The Human Rights Fund for Indigenous Peoples had paid for Vladimir Sanghi, President of the "Association of Small Peoples of the Soviet North", to come to Geneva. The Soviet government delegation also had an indigenous representative, Jevdokija Gajer.

Vladimir Sanghi spoke of the importance of recognising indigenous peoples in the Soviet Union. He emphasised ecological and cultural factors, while criticising official bodies for neglecting the national identity of indigenous peoples and their way of life.

Asia

Like the indigenous peoples of the USSR, the cases of two indigenous people from Asia were presented to the Working Group for the first time. However in both cases the presentations were given by non-indigenous persons.

The *Negev Bedouin* in Israel have suffered forced relocation from their ancestral land since the creation of the state of Israel. This process is further aggravated by the Israeli authorities who are now trying to urbanise the Bedouin by force. Israeli law fails to protect their land rights, traditional economy, culture and religious sites. Their homes are being demolished and settlement outside approved locations is classified as illegal.

The other cases concerns the *Yami, Bunun, Ami* and *Sao* peoples of Taiwan. These peoples are suffering from dislocation, assimilation, depopulation and loss of rights. The Yami people on Lanyu Island are especially threatened due to the construction of a nuclear waste dump on the coast of Lanyu Island.

According to the governments of India and Bangladesh, neither country has indigenous peoples. However the indigenous peoples of these two

The Negev Bedouin in Israel have suffered forced relocation from their ancestral land since the creation of the state of Israel. (Photo: Association for the support and defense of Bedouin rights in Israel)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

countries do not agree with this. The Indian tribal and government representatives debated very much over this issue. There were serious discrepancies between the positive picture of life in the Chittagong Hill Tracts after the District Council elections of May 1989, and the representative of the tribal peoples who pointed to continuing human rights violations and militarisation in the region.

Dr. Em Marta, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Karen National Union and Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Democratic Alliance of Burma (which includes students who have fled to the Karen areas), spoke both at the Working Group on Indigenous Populations and the Working Group on Slavery. In his speech to the WGIP he stressed that nothing had happened since the election earlier this year, and warned of the increasing number of timber concessions which the Burmese government has given to Thailand.

Asia was also represented by a delegation of *Ainu* from Japan, the Cordillera Peoples Alliance in the Philippines and both *Tamil* and *Vedda* representatives from Sri Lanka. A very colourful delegation from the South Moluccas finished their presentation with the words: "At this moment we show you the original costumes worn by our Moluccan youth which they cannot wear in their own country".

Oceania and Australia

The Aboriginal delegation was large in 1990. There was much discussion about the establishment of the "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission" which is an elected body formed by 17 representatives chosen from 60 regional councils. Whereas the Australian government sees the new commission as a form of devolution, some Aboriginal representatives commented that the whole arrangement was imposed by the government.

From Aotearoa a delegation of *Maoris* spoke strongly of the Waitangi Treaty, 150 years old this year. The representatives of the *Ngagiteata* tribe pointed out that in spite of the Treaty their ancestral burial grounds are being desecrated by mining operations.

A statement from West Papua referred to the 21 years since the so-called Act of Free Choice took place. Although the Act was meant to be an open and fair consultation with the West Papuan people offering them independence, the Indonesian government stage-managed the Act in order to gain UN approval for its military occupation of West Papua.

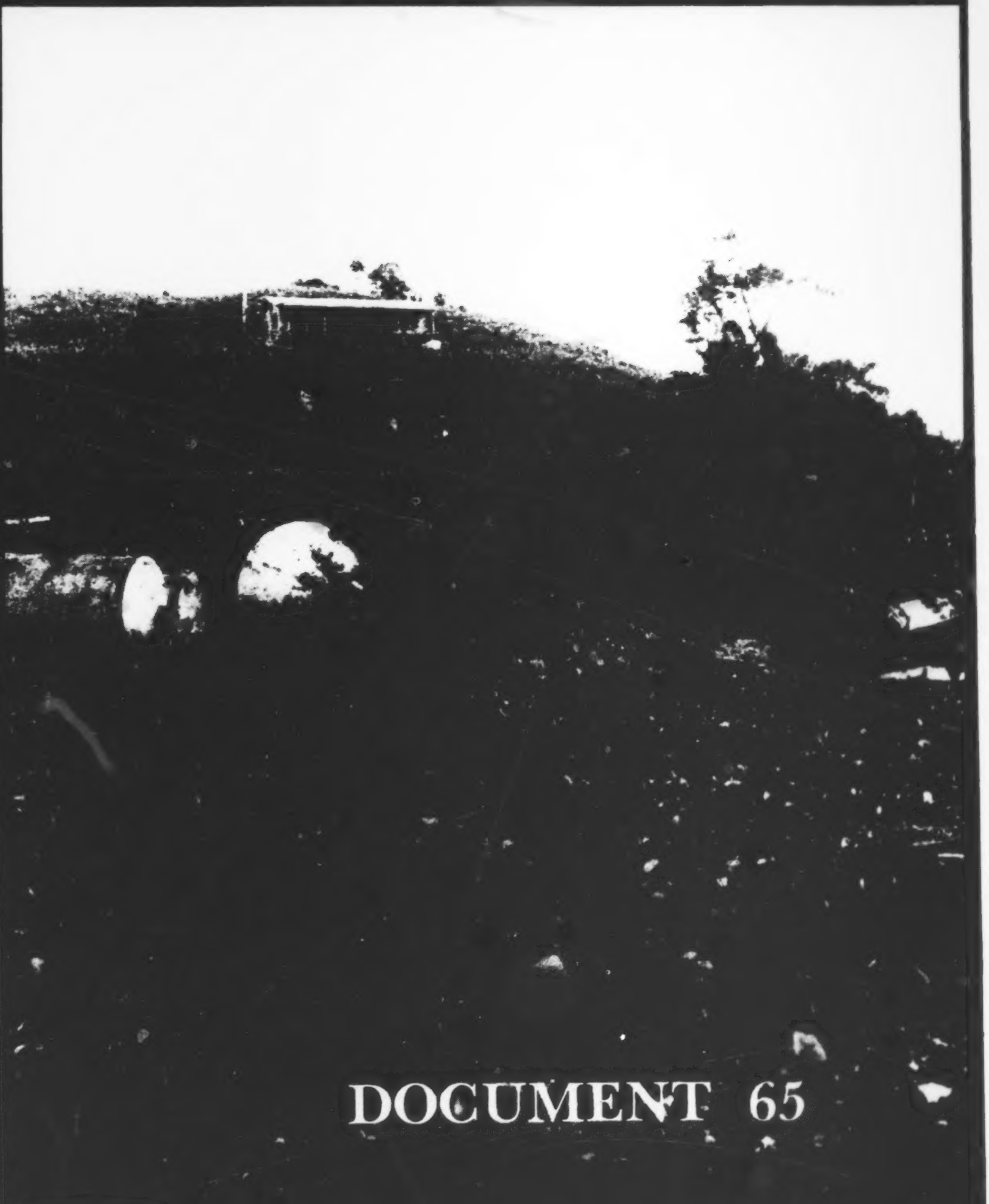
This brief survey cannot mention all the presentations which indigenous peoples made at the Working Group. It is clear, however, that each year a greater variety of issues are presented to the Working Group, while at the same time indigenous peoples are providing increasingly more detailed and well-researched documentation.

Indigenous Women on the Move

IWGIA

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Indigenous meetings



DOCUMENT 65

People In Between

Daniela Renner

IWGIA

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The World Environmental Crisis and Perspectives on Sustainable Development

by Teresa Aparicio/IWGIA

Introduction

The Second International Conference of Indigenous Women took place in Karasjok, Saamiland, Northern Norway, from the 5 to 9 August 1990. More than 100 delegates from different countries attended the Conference.

The Conference took place immediately after the annual meeting of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva and just before the Sixth General Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) from 8 to 12 August, in Tromsø, some 500 kms from Karasjok. Holding the two meetings one after the other enabled a large number of indigenous women to attend the Second International Conference of Indigenous Women; there would not otherwise have been sufficient funds to cover the costs of two trans-Atlantic travel for so many participants.

According to the draft statutes of the (prospective) World Council of Indigenous Women (WCIW), drawn up during the First International Conference of Indigenous Women which took place in July 1989 in Australia,

Saami women offered to be the hosts for the Second Indigenous Women's International Conference. The photo which is from the opening ceremony and parade of delegates shows the Saami emblem borne by Saami women. For the Soviet Saami Nina Afanasjeva, it was an emotional first reunion with Saami sisters from the Nordic area. (Photo: Filomenita Mongaya Høgsholm, IWGIA) the WCIW must organize an assembly every two years. The next assembly should therefore be in 1993. However, it was considered more important to hold it in 1992, than to maintain the established chronological order because this is the year in which the governments of Spain and countries in Central and South America will celebrate the 500th Anniversary of the ill-named "discovery" of the Americas, against the explicit desires of all the indigenous organizations and groups.

From the beginning, it was agreed that there should be a Conference of Indigenous Women in 1992 in Central or South America in order to register their disagreement with the official festivities, and in this way support the actions which are being coordinated by the indigenous peoples. In order to do this, the WCIW needed wider communication with women's organizations and groups in the Americas. With a view to coordinating a Conference in 1992, it was logical to have the Second Conference in 1990, with the greatest possible attendance of representatives from Latin America. In this respect, it can be said that the Second Conference was a success, in that it managed to bring together a considerable number of indigenous representatives from different Central and South American countries. These representatives had the opportunity to meet together for the first time at the international level.

The fact that the Second Conference could take place only one year after the First Conference, demonstrates not only the organizational capacity of the indigenous women but also that they are in absolute control over the development of this incipient world indigenous movement.

This report aims to provide a picture of the development of the Second International Conference of Indigenous Women. The subjects debated at the Conference are presented in the sections dealing with the five workshops which were set up, including the most important resolutions these workshops reached on distinct subjects. The report ends with a brief conclusion which tries to highlight the most important moments of the Conference.

1. The Structure of the Conference

The Second International Conference of Indigenous Women took place in a Saami school in Karasjok, a small town in the heart of Saamiland, with a population of some 2 600 inhabitants, of which 90 per cent are Saami. The school officials had very generously put the ample and modern facilities of the institution at the disposal of the Conference, such as the computers and the photocopy machines which greatly eased the smooth running of the Conference.

The daily sessions began with an indigenous prayer led by a different representative each day; everyone participated in the prayers, from the official delegates to the translators and observers. This way of beginning the day produced such an atmosphere of unity between the participants that infused all the working sessions of the Conference. In the evenings, there were social events where different indigenous groups presented dances and

There was widespread paticipation at the Conference. Representatives from Africa, the Arctic and Asia are shown as they make their entrance into the Conference Hall. (Photo: Filomenita Mongaya Høgsholm, IWGIA)

songs. One of the most successful evenings was when Saami children aged between 2 and 14 years performed traditional songs in their beautiful Saami costumes.

The Conference agenda was tight, and in order to complete the workshop sessions and the general meetings, many groups continued working in the evenings. For some of the groups, for example the representatives from Central and South America, this was the first time they had had the opportunity to meet at a regional and inter-regional level. They worked intensely through all the four days of the Conference.

2. The Theme of the Conference

The theme of the Second Conference was "The World Environmental Crisis and Indigenous Women's Perspectives on Sustainable Development". From a global indigenous perspective, this theme reflected a clear tendency within the indigenous movement to present in a dynamic and ongoing form, indigenous perspectives and positions on the world environmental crisis. On the other hand, environmental organisations, international funding agencies and state support agencies, among others, are showing a growing interest in listening to, and on some occasions also supporting, indigenous models for development, conservation and the management of natural resources.

In the first part of 1990 alone, there have been various international meetings on ecological themes and development with indigenous and non-indigenous participation. Among these was the "GLOBO '90" Conference which took place in March in Vancouver, Canada; two months later there was a meeting in Penang, Malaysia, coordinated by the World Rainforest Movement, an alliance between indigenous peoples, other groups who also live in the rainforest, environmental organisations and indigenous support organisations. At the same time COICA, the Coordinadora of Indigenous Organisations of the Amazon Basin organised a World Conference on the Environment in Iquitos, Peru, with the participation of ecologists and indigenous peoples. Finally, in a similar fashion, the WCIP has also chosen world environmental crisis for the theme of its sixth Assembly.

The difference between the above-mentioned meetings and that in Karasjok was that the women approached the subject from a new angle, in other words, from the perspective of indigenous women.

3. Participants and Principal Speakers

The participation of official delegates was markedly greater and more representative than that of the First Conference. It achieved, therefore, one of the main objectives of the Association of Saami Women who, together with Marie Smallface Marule from Canada, coordinated the Conference.

The Conference was attended by representatives from Aboriginal peoples of Australia; *Maoris* from Aotearoa (New Zealand); *Inuit* from the Circumpolar regions of Greenland and Alaska; Native Hawaiians; Samoan people from Polynesia; and West Papuans from Melanesia. The tribal peoples of the Cordillera (Philippines) sent representatives from three different organisations. There was widespread participation from the Indian nations of Canada, as well as from North, Central and South America. And, for the first time at an international meeting, there were two delegates from the Peruvian Amazon representing the *Aguaruna-Huambisa* Council (CAH) and the Inter-ethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Amazon (AIDESEP). There were also various *Saami* representatives from Sweden, Finland and Norway, as well as Saami from the Kola Peninsula (Soviet Union). Finally, there was also a representative from the *Nenets* people of Siberia.

Among the principal speakers at the Conference were **Zeni Tshongweni**, Secretary of the Federation of Women of the Transvaal of the ANC (African National Council), who spoke on the relation between the apartheid system in South Africa and environmental problems such as toxic waste, air and river pollution, and the destruction of the country's nature reserves. **Hauanani-Kay Trask**, Director of the Centre for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawaii, spoke about the neo-colonialism and imposition of patriarchal systems in indigenous societies. **Jorunn Eikjok,** a Saami journalist and social scientist who has written a thesis on Saami women, spoke about the situation of women and men in Saami herding communities. **Wara Alderete,** editor of the information bulletin, SAdinator of the Women's Project for 1992 for the same organisation, gave a talk on models of power and authority in relation to indigenous women in the Andean region. **Victoria Tauli Corpuz,** Director of the Cordillera Women's Education and Resource Centre, Philippines, drew a picture of the situation of indigenous women in Asia in relation to the destruction of indigenous subsistence economies by the capitalist mercantile economy.

Audrey McLaughlin, leader of the New Democratic Party of Canada, and **Jean Sindab**, from the World Council of Churches (WCC), spoke as specially invited non-indigenous participants. Jean Sindab is working n the Programme to Combat Racism, and she spoke about the interest the WCC has in supporting the struggle of indigenous women against racism. Audrey McLaughlin is know for her support for the rights of indigenous peoples in Canada. In the course of her presentation she promised to put forward the indigenous question at a world-wide level and, specifically, at the International Socialist Assembly which took place in New York in October 1990.

4. Workshops

Of the ten workshops proposed in the agenda, not all materialised, and the different subjects of discussion were rearranged accordingly. Information about the indigenous situation at the community, regional and national levels was presented at the workshop sessions in accordance with the subjects of each workshop. The conclusions of the debates, together with the resolutions adopted in the workshops, were later presented before the Assembly for approval.

Workshop 1:

4.1 Hydroelectric dams

Hydroelectric dams supplying energy to industry, urban complexes, military establishments, and to centres for the extraction of natural resources, are increasingly being located in indigenous territories. Hydroelectric schemes have caused the forced relocation of many ethnic groups, destroying indigenous socio-economic systems based on the ecological conservation of the environment. The contamination which hydroelectric schemes generate is endangering unique ecological systems. Irreplaceable medicinal plants are being lost, and species of birds and fish are disappearing.

The representatives of Canada protested at the hydroelectric schemes which are being built in the north of the country, including those in James Bay, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia. The mercury contamination in the region is so high that it threatens to destroy the eco-systems in the Hudson and James Bays. Documentation was presented concerning 10 000 caribou which drowned because of the hydroelectric works at James Bay. Caribou continues to be the principal food for many Indians in Alaska and Northwest Canada. Furthermore, caribou have a spiritual and cultural value for these Indian nations.

The Conference Assembly accepted the workshop proposal to ask the Canadian government for an impartial examination of hydro-electric mega-projects and other energy projects which are affecting the indigenous peoples.

Similarly, it was agreed to strongly advise the United States government to carry out an examination into the ecological impact of any project which included the export of electricity to other countries. Finally, a proposal was formulated for the two countries in order that they immediately set up long-term energy conservation programmes, with a view to reducing the danger to the ecology which these hydroelectric projects are generally causing.

Nina Afanasjeva, an indigenous Saami from the Kola Peninsula, talked about the hydroelectric projects which the government of the Soviet Union has programmed for the Kola Peninsula. When completed, these will destroy the ecosystem and the way of life of the Saami who live in this region.

Nevertheless, there are indigenous peoples who have fought successfully against the construction of hydroelectric schemes in their territories. For example, at the beginning of the 1980s, the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera (Philippines) in general, and the indigenous women in particular, forced the government to stop the construction of a series of hydroelectric schemes in their region known as the Chico Hydroelectric Project. On the basis of this concrete experience, which at the time counted on the active support of many organisations throughout the world, one of the tasks of the next World Council of Indigenous Women (WCIW) will be to support this type of action. It was also agreed to fight to prevent the construction of hydroelectric schemes without the consent of the indigenous peoples affected, and to stop international money being used in the construction of energy programmes on indigenous territories.

Workshop 2:

4.2 Militarisation and Nuclear Testing

Indigenous peoples are increasingly suffering from the violent occupation of their territories by foreign military forces. Many of these forces support and make nuclear testing programmes possible, especially in the Pacific region.

The representatives of South and Central America (Mexico, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Peru, Venezuela and Bolivia), denounced three distinct forms of militarization of their communities: a) persecution of drug traffickers, b) fighting against terrorist and guerilla groups and c) direct repression of indigenous communities. There were specific denunciations of the situation whereby indigenous leaders who oppose the military occupation of their communities are accused by the same military personnel of being drug traffickers or guerillas.

The Pacific is being utilised by foreign countries as an arsenal for military and nuclear equipment with no consideration for the rights of the indigenous peoples who live in this region. For example, it has been proven that chemical arms have been moved from Europe to Johnston Atoll for storage and subsequent incineration.

Nuclear technological research, which is being carried out in the Marshall Islands, especially on the Kwajalein Atoll, is threatening the environment and the health and future survival of the indigenous peoples.

A sampling of indigenous women from the North, a Norwegian and a Soviet *Saami and a Nenets(foreground,left) who all expressed concern about atomic testing at Novaya Zemlya in the Kola peninsula which will have grave consequences for the Saami population in general.*
(Photo: Filomenita Mongaya Høgsholm, IWGIA)

The research programme has also used indigenous lands which has led to the forced relocation of indigenous groups.

Nuclear testing in the Mururoa and Fangataufa Atolls in Tahiti, as well as the radioactive pollution of the flora and fauna of the region as a consequence of the nuclear tests, continue to cause lethal illnesses among the indigenous population.

In the Soviet Union the Sami fear that the atomic testing in Novaja Zemlya, in the Kola Peninsula will annihilate the Saami people in a few generations. For example, the drinking water in the area is so polluted that it has to be boiled before it can be drunk; they fear that if the problem is not solved the incidence of bacteriological diseases in the population will increase considerably.

The militarisation of indigenous territories, such as the invasion of indigenous nations by foreign military forces, as in East Timor and West Papua, was denounced. In this connection the workshop also denounced the passage of vessels armed with Trident and Cruise missiles through Pacific waters as a latent threat for all the indigenous peoples of the Pacific.

The General Assembly of the Conference agreed to call upon the military nations of the world to employ their technical resources and capacity to resolve the problems which are resulting from the storage and destruction of nuclear weapons. It also resolved to call upon the United Nations to pass an international resolution calling upon the U.S. government and its

European allies, especially the member states of NATO, to keep their nuclear arms in their own countries and to disarm and dismantle them in the places where they are presently located.

Workshop 3:

4.3 Indigenous Women and Racism

This workshop identified "institutionalised" racism which exists towards indigenous women, especially in the areas of education, health and family planning, and self-determination. The workshop also condemned sex tourism which exploits indigenous cultures in general, and indigenous women in particular. This workshop declared that indigenous women should have the right to self-determination as an integral part of the struggle of indigenous nations for their liberation and self-government. It also considered that the right to self-identification and the right to possess private property ought to be constitutionally protected by all governments. The right of indigenous women to travel and freedom of movement should also be recognised in all countries.

Workshop 4:

4.4 The impact on development programmes on the social roles of indigenous women

The national development programmes and schemes which are imposed on indigenous peoples and their territories are being implemented, in the majority of cases, without prior consultation with the groups affected. At this workshop, the relation between this issue and indigenous women was examined. In connection with this they discussed interrelated problems which were common to all indigenous women, that is, colonialism and patriarchy.

The workshop considered whether patriarchy is an entity which is basically foreign to indigenous nations and which forms an integral part of the colonialist system. Patriarchy has changed the nature of the indigenous family and its way of defining cultural values which has resulted in a division between indigenous nations. The social roles within families and communities have been diffused. Where traditionally, women's work was highly esteemed and deserved the family's protection and security, in today's world, patriarchy has devalued the work of indigenous women and many aid programmes tend to exacerbate the problem.

With a view to being able to be in control of the development programmes which affect them, indigenous women stress the need to support the establishment of their own organisations, at the community, regional and national level, as well as at the international and inter-regional level. Moreover, they ought to be given support through education and training courses which will allow them to design and implement development programmes.

The Conference Assembly adopted the position that any type of aid given to communities ought to be controlled by the communities themselves. Moreover, industry and businesses ought to consult specifically with indigenous women before they plan their development projects in indigenous territories. In relation to this, it was emphasised that women ought to have equal and equitable representation in all the decision-making processes which affect their lives.

Concerning the external debt, a motion was supported rejecting all debts generated through foreign aid.

4.5 The impact of aid on development for the reproductive rights and health of indigenous women

The subject of **health** was examined in this workshop because the majority of indigenous women's health problems were interpreted as a consequence of the impact of development on their reproductive rights and their health.

Indigenous peoples perceive health from a wholistic or global perspective, which includes different social levels, such as political, cultural, environmental, cosmological, psychological, etc. During the workshop sessions it was suggested that, due to the colonial and neo-colonial situation in which the great majority of indigenous peoples find themselves, and the tremendous social pressures this brings, they run the risk of mental problems which are foreign to their indigenous societies. These problems are expressed through, for example, depression, anxiety, so-called "high-risk" social behaviour, etc. One of the resolutions on this subject involved looking for economic assistance to allow communities to establish their own mental health services according to their specific needs.

With the aim of investigating and improving the health of indigenous women and children, it was approved that the WCIW direct its energies towards ensuring that medicines with verified harmful effects, such as the contraceptive **Depo-provera**, which are prohibited in capitalist countries, are also prohibited in developing countries in general, and among indigenous peoples in particular. Likewise, it approved the motion that more information be given to indigenous communities and organisations on the harmful effects of tobacco, which is already causing breast cancer in many indigenous women.

The WCIW will work with the World Health Organisation (WHO) to investigate sexual abuse of indigenous children of both sexes. As the WHO has designated the December 1, 1990 as Women's Day and AIDS Day, the WCIW will work to ensure that the needs, strategies and desires of indigenous women throughout the world will be given priority on this day.

At the same time, it was resolved to ask the U.N. for its support and help in setting up an independent commission with the aim of identifying transnational and international companies which are abusing the indigenous female workforce. For example, the **Coca-cola** company was mentioned because, in Central and South America, it dismisses women who drink anything other than Coca-cola.

Finally, the General Assembly of the Conference was asked that the

180

WCIW sets up a Committee to examine and define health and how it is perceived by indigenous women.

Workshop 5:

4.6 Sexual violence and the trafficking in women and children

The forced separation of indigenous children from their families, especially in North America and Australia, continues to be a grave problem for indigenous communities. It has been calculated that in some regions in these two countries up to half of indigenous children are being educated in non-indigenous families.

There is documentary evidence which shows that children who have been educated away from their families suffer, among other problems, the loss of cultural identity, high indices of alcoholism, drug abuse, sexual abuse, suicide and depression. When these children become adults they return to their communities and bring all these problems with them. This, in its own way, creates new social pressures within communities. Those who do not return to their communities of origin, live alienated lives in non-indigenous communities and educate their children in the same way. Thus the indigenous communities lose both generations. These practices were

One of the resolutions from the Conference was to allocate funds to indigenous communities so their social systems prevent the separation of children from their families and communities, a phenomenon that is common whether among the relatively developed North or in the deprived South.
(Photo of children from Sarawak: Palle Kjærulff-Schmidt)

denounced as genocidal in that they threaten indigenous nations with a slow death.

The General Assembly of the Conference decided to ask the governments under whose jurisdiction such cases as those mentioned above still exist, to pass adequate laws against the forced separation of indigenous children from their families and communities as well as to reintegrate all children, including those now grown up, who have been forcibly separated in the past into their communities of origin.

With the aim of finding solutions to these problems, it was agreed to ask the governments to allocate sufficient funds to indigenous communities, specifically for a) adequate treatment of problems resulting from forced separation and the problems arising during the process of reunification, according to the cultural norms of the communities; and b) so that indigenous families and communities can reinforce their social systems with the aim of "preventing" the forced separation of indigenous children from their families and communities.

5. Resolutions and Declarations

The Conference adopted a series of resolutions on the subjects discussed in the workshops based on the conclusion of each workshop. Similarly, it produced a final declaration (see the appendix to this report) which draws together many of the worries expressed by the delegates during the Conference.

Several of the resolutions adopted by the Conference were concerned with specific cases and were proposed by delegates from the same region. For example, one of the resolutions concerned the ecological and social crises experienced by many of the indigenous peoples in the Amazon Basin. In the resolution the governments of Venezuela, Brazil, Peru, U.S. and Japan were accused of genocide towards the indigenous peoples of the Amazon; the resolution continued with a call to the international community to help put an end to this genocide and also to the destruction and sacking of natural resources from this region.

Other resolutions were concerned with the lack of protection for the caribou herds in different *Gwich'in* indigenous communities in Alaska and Northwest Canada. The indigenous communities depend on these herds for their subsistence. The resolution asked the governments of the U.S. and Canada to designate the areas as a bio-cultural reserve to be maintained by the Gwich'in people.

The resolution concerning the world environmental crisis, distinct from the other resolutions, was drawn up from the declarations of all the workshops which asked that this subject be treated separately. An Editing Committee appointed by the Assembly was subsequently charged to produce a draft document encompassing the different opinions on this subject, and the final version of the resolution was revised and approved during the last session of the Conference. The aim of this work was to provide all the participants with the opportunity to give their opinion on what the Conference considered was a matter of great importance.

5.1 Resolution on the world environmental crisis

The General Assembly of the Conference unanimously adopted a resolution on the world environmental crisis. This resolution took as its standpoint the existence of a state of extreme emergency concerning the ecological integrity and the security of Mother Earth. According to the resolution, this situation is due to the search by the industrial and military nations for world dominance over the lands and natural resources of indigenous peoples.

Based on the documentation presented in the workshops, the Conference identified five main areas of exploitation which are causing ecological degradation with extremely adverse consequences for the lives of indigenous peoples, especially women and children. These five areas are:

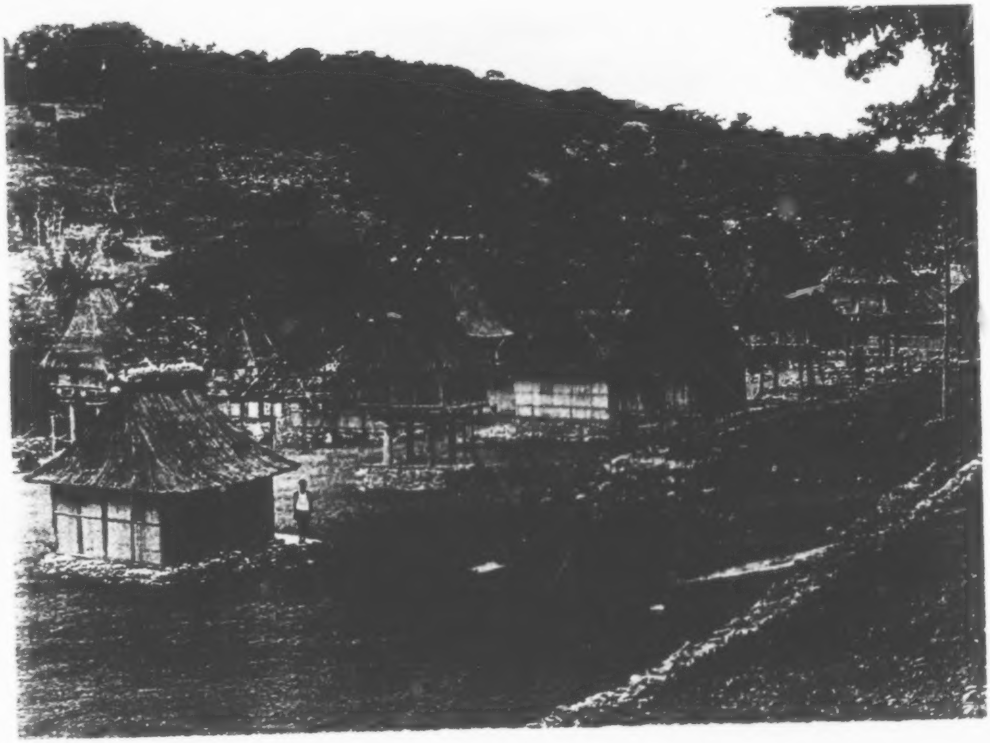
1) nuclear testing and nuclear radiation;
2) mercury contamination;
3) toxic waste;
4) deforestation; and
5) the development of sources of energy in connection with development programmes.

Nuclear radiation has contaminated all parts of the food chain and is today causing cancerous illnesses. Nuclear tests and experiments not only produce cancer but they are also the reason why women are giving birth to so-called "jelly-fish babies" and deformed babies. Regarding mercury contamination resulting from industrial processes, mining and the production of electricity, it has been proven that this is highly toxic for women and young mothers, for foetuses and pregnant women, and for children under the age of 12 years. The level of toxic emissions in oceans, rivers and lakes which the indigenous people consider as arteries in Mother Earth, is causing irreversible harm for all nations.

The deforestation of tropical forests, the mining industries and the development of sources of energy, have caused not only the forced relocation of millions of indigenous people, the destruction of sacred places and the depletion of game in indigenous territories, but also the destruction of fertile lands, flooding, droughts and atmospheric problems such as the erosion of the ozone layer which is causing excessive global warming, known as the "greenhouse effect".

The Conference resolved to call upon the multi-national corporations and the governments of the world responsible for this situation to adopt the following measures:

a) to put an immediate stop to the destruction of indigenous peoples' lands and rivers;
b) to recompense indigenous peoples who have suffered from the destruction



East Timorese village at the foot of a wooded hillside
(Photo: Elaine Briere)

levelled at their communities by these same multinationals and governments;

c) to begin an immediate clean-up of pollution from toxic emissions and oil spillages in the main rivers;

d) to condemn the larger nations such as the U.S., Japan, the Soviet Union, France, South Africa, white Australia, Great Britain and Canada which have caused all these dangers in their search for profits, markets, natural resources and power; and

e) that all toxic products with harmful effects for the lives of indigenous peoples be prohibited by the year 2000.

Finally, it recommended that the indigenous women present at the Conference be on their guard against, and try to avoid, further degradation of the environment, and that they work such that those who are responsible for such actions take account of the indigenous peoples who are affected.

Conclusion

The Second International Conference of Indigenous Women was innovative in several respects. Above all, it was the first time that the two central themes of the Conference, a) the world environmental crisis and b) the future perspectives for sustainable development, have been examined from the point of view of indigenous women.

The Conference came to the conclusion that the world environmental crisis is principally due to two inter-related questions. First of all, the combination of technological development, together with national development programmes in the industrialised countries, such as the indiscriminate extraction of natural resources and the construction of hydroelectric dams, are causing irreversible ecological harm. Secondly, military hegemony combined with nuclear programmes and experiments often concerning foreign military occupation of indigenous territories, is not only polluting the soil, subsoil and atmosphere of the planet but is also creating problems such as the "greenhouse effect" which is threatening the global integrity. The greatest danger as far as the life and society of indigenous peoples is concerned, is posed by the militarisation of indigenous peoples, nuclear testing and experiments on their territories, and large-scale national development projects.

It was also expressed that the industries, the nuclear programmes, the nuclear tests are causing the global heating of the planet, and are disturbing the natural environment and still, the consequences of these changes at the global level are yet unkown.

Indigenous women's perspectives of sustained development within their communities converge on the issue of the need for indigenous women to be given more authority, such as a more central decision-making role concerning any aid and development programmes in indigenous communities. This position is based on the fact that within indigenous communities it is mainly the women who do the agricultural work; likewise, it is also the women who look after the health of all the members of the family. One of the innovative perspectives which developed on this subject is the emphasis given to questions of health and women's reproductive rights in relation to the impact of aid on the development of indigenous communities.

The participation for the first time of indigenous women delegates from the Saami people of the Kola Peninsula, the Nenets people of Siberia, both from the Soviet Union, as well as representatives from the Peruvian Amazon in an international Conference bears witness to the growing representativity of the WCIW.

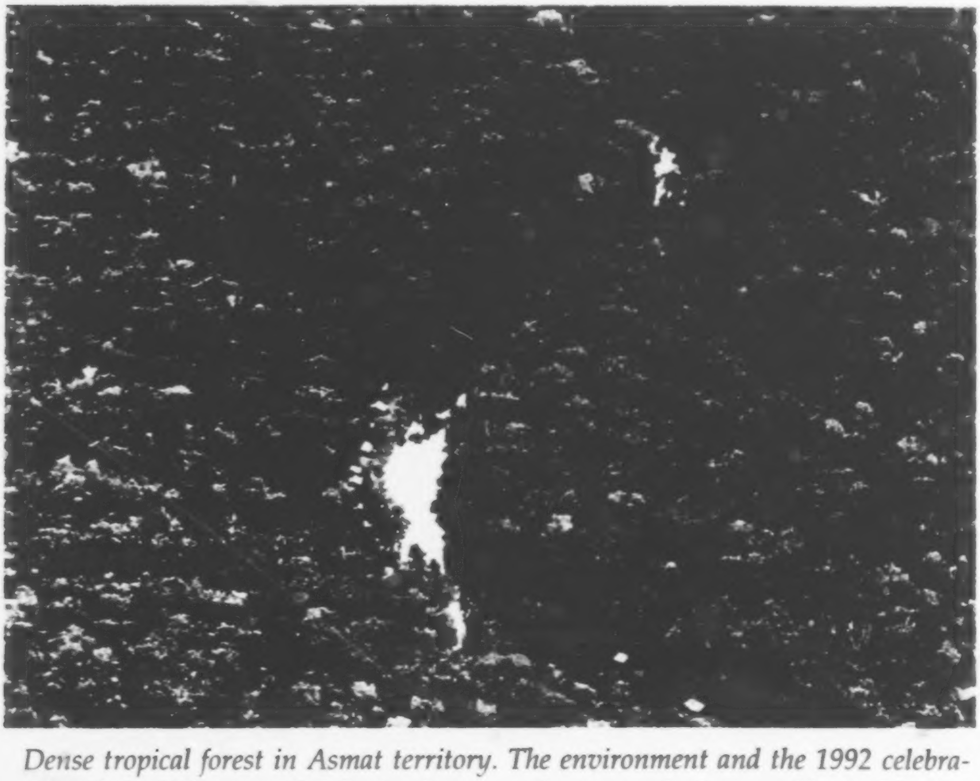
This incipient movement of indigenous women at the world level could come to be extremely important for the future of their peoples in that the women provide a **complementary, and necessary**, vision of the needs and desires of indigenous peoples. ***A practical way of supporting indigenous women, which was emphasised on various occasions during the Conference, is to support them in organising locally, nationally, regionally and internationally so that they can establish relations and network on a world-wide level, thereby continuing the extremely important dialogue which has just begun.***

Sixth General Assembly of the World Council for Indigenous Peoples

by Georg Henriksen

Regional delegations

The WCIP (World Council for Indigenous Peoples) gathered in Tromsø, Norway for its 6th General Assembly. There were nine delegations from South America, eight from Central America, and four from the Caribbean. From North America, only the Indian people of Canada were represented, missing out both the Inuit and the Indians from U.S.A. From the Pacific area there were delegates from Aotearoa (New Zealand) and Australia. There was one delegation representing the small peoples of the U.S.S.R, one representative from Greenland, and one from Nagaland. Myanmar (Burma) should have been represented at the meeting, but the representatives were not able to leave their country. From Europe, the Saami from Finland, Sweden and Norway were represented. The Nordic Saami Council hosted the General Assembly and the International Conference.



Dense tropical forest in Asmat territory. The environment and the 1992 celebrations of the 500 years of Colonization were the two main issues addressed by the Sixth WCIP General Assembly. (Photo: ILO)

The agenda

The agenda focused on two major themes:

1) The 1992 celebrations planned by the Europeans and Euro-Americans;
2) Environmental issues.

Both issues were addressed extensively during the plenary sessions. There were 4 workshops running parallel to the plenary sessions, dealing with:

1) Democracy and Self-Determination
2) National and International Instruments
3) Environment and Peace, Health and Development
4) Human Rights and Indigenous Women

Each of the workshops held press conferences which were well attended.

The opening session

The meeting was opened by Lars Anders Baer, president of the Nordic Saami Council, who gave a welcoming address. Then followed talks given by representatives from the Norwegian and Swedish governments, from the Mayor of the city of Tromsø, and from the President of the Saami Parliament in Norway, Mr. Ole Henrik Magga. The U.N. Under Secretary for Human Rights, Mr. Jan Martensen, stressed the importance of co-operating with the NGO's (among them, the Nordic Sámi Council which now has obtained NGO status with UN ECOSOC). He also stressed the importance of the legal instruments which are available to the indigenous peoples, but underlined the fact that the question of national -state- integrity is a problem, as soon as it comes to the implementation of the principles embodied in these instruments.

The President of the WCIP, Mr. Donald Rojas, suggested in his address to the Conference that an indigenous bank should be created, and also an indigenous centre for higher education.

Also in the opening session, Mr. Alwyn Morris from the *Mohawk* Nation addressed the Conference in a strong and emotionally loaded statement in which he reported that the Canadian government on the previous evening had sent personnel from the army against the Oka reservation of the Mohawk. He appealed to the WCIP and to the governments represented at the Conference for their support to the Indians who are fighting for their rights. His appeal was supported by Ms. Audrey McLaughlin, leader of the New Social Democratic Party of Canada, who very strongly expressed her regrets over the use of force in the conflict.

The plenary session

The regional representatives gave their reports, and addressed in turn the major issues of the conference. In so doing they painted a grim picture of the state of affairs in the indigenous world, resulting from the unequal power-

The Pacific region was pinpointed primarily for the ongoing nuclear tests that *continue to threaten the indigenous population. (Photo of Tahiti youth from French Polynesia by Palle Kjærulff-Schmidt)*

relations between the indigenous peoples and the encompassing state societies.

From the **Pacific region**, the *Maori* delegation criticised the continuous and increasing deployment of military equipment in the Pacific by the USA, the Soviet Union and France. The French continue their nuclear tests at Mururoa, and the stockpiles of chemical weapons in Europe are removed and destroyed on Johnson Atoll. Large-scale, commercial drift-net fishing by Japan, Taiwan and South Korea depletes the economic base of the indigenous peoples, and results in the indiscriminate slaughter of endangered species. Multi-national companies exploit and pollute the indigenous lands for oil, phosphate, gold and timber.

The Maori delegation pointed to the 1978 Alma Ata Declaration of the World Health Organization which acknowledges the links between land, culture and health. Without the spiritual and economic base of the land, the culture struggles to survive in a vacuum. Without a strong cultural base, the individual and community struggle to survive as healthy well-rounded beings. Striking at the heart of the matter, they went on to say that "for Maori, as for many other indigenous peoples, our contemporary state of comparative unwellness cannot therefore be divorced from our colonial oppression. To take away the land base, whether through war, confiscation, or legal stratagem; to demean the language and values; and to dismiss as worthless the conceptual inter-relationship between our people and the earth, is to set in place a cycle of economic poverty and oppression which inevitably leads to ill-health".

Hence, the life expectancy of the Maori is 10 years less than the settlers. Maori women have the highest rate of lung cancer in the world. While the Maori constitute just 12% of the total population of Aotearoa (New Zealand), the Maori make up 48% of the prison population. They make up 52% of the population in mental institutions, and are twice as likely to be committed there by Court order as are settlers.

Very similar concerns were addressed by the **Indigenous Nations of Canada**. In the workshop on health and development, they gave an account of the widespread social and psychological distress in many of their communities, and how this generates drug and alcohol abuse. The alcoholics are picked up and sent to treatment centres, but as soon as they are out they find themselves in the same depressed situation, dependent upon welfare payments. Caught in a vicious circle, they resume their old drinking patterns, which again lead to the treatment centre, and so on.

Among the Indigenous Nations of Canada, the suicide rate is 10% above the national average. These, and other disconcerting figures from the health statistics, reflect the ldire lack of opportunities to create self-esteem among the indigenous people within the democratic society of Canada. This is also reflected in Canadian history books, which say nothing about the contributions of the Indian people. Overall, it is a system that creates apathy amongst the Indian people. As did the Maori, the Canadian delegates stressed the importance of including the spiritual aspects of people's lives in the definition of health.

More from the Canadian scene, the regional representative reported on the Grand Council of the *Micmac* Nation as an example of the new kind of the indigenous national unity being created in Canada. The Grand Council is not recognized by the Canadian government, as this unity "violates government-set rules and ignores the imposed divide-and-rule systems put in place over the past several centuries. This new kind of unity is beginning to take self-determination seriously: "to reconquer our fates by becomming our own masters again".

The Canadian representative said that:

> "the strongest organizational tie between indigenous peoples globally is the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. But these ties are not strong enough and they must be expanded. At the regional level, we have even further to go, especially in North America. The North American Region is not functioning outside of Canadian aboriginal organizations working on national issues. It is time to question whether it can function as it is currently organized. (...) Perhaps one of the problems is that in Canada and the U.S. Indian and *Metis* and *Inuit* people have been too ready to believe that there is nothing the international community or indigenous peoples elsewhere can really provide us. We fall into the attitude that we are part of the First World - rich and successful. Maybe the events in Canada over the past five years - with the collapse of trust in government, and the escalation of conflict - is teaching us that we are not in the First World, we are in the Fourth World. And we have to give much more effort to international organization if we are not to be isolated in the future."

Finally, Viola Robinson from Canada proposed the establishment of a 1992 Fund in the order of Can $ 500 mill., "in order that indigenous peoples can direct their own futures and their own developments, instead of relying so heavily on irregular and often misdirected or manipulative international and national programs. The 1992 Fund could also provide the WCIP and all its affiliates with a tremendous opportunity to regain control, and to organize, in all areas of common concern that unite us."

The delegates from **South- and Central America**, as well as the **Caribbean region**, all elaborated upon the atrocities still carried out against the indigenous peoples. They all made the point that the 500 years of colonial occupation of their lands is nothing to celebrate. Instead, the opportunity should be taken to enhance the knowledge among the general public as to what has really taken place since the Europeans arrived in the Americas.

The stories told by the delegates were that of whole nations being wiped out through massacres, of missionaries who did everything to destroy the indigenous religions, and of the exploitation of their labour. One of the delegates from Chile pointed out that during the military regime in Chile, many human rights groups fought against Pinochet, but there were none who fought for the indigenous peoples of Chile.

The delegate from Costa Rica said that the Indians are regarded as foreigners, and are not issued ID cards. "Yet, the same government exploits our land without consulting us. We have so many problems that we have decided not to celebrate the 500 years of ethnocide and genocide".

One of the delegates from Peru spoke out against all armed resistance in the country, and against the killings of Indian leaders by Sendero Luminoso. He also criticised USA and Bolivia for poisoning the land when they spray the coca plants. He spoke out against all kinds of development and extraction of raw materials which has a detrimental effect on the environment. He also denounced the subsidization of production which is obtained through the utilization of the underpaid labour of the Indians. He said that ethnocide and genocide are still taking place, for example through the activities of the intruding gold miners.

Representing the **Yanomami** Indians in Tromsø was Davi Kopenawa Yanomami. Unfortunately he fell ill on his arrival, but he reported on the very severe situation of his people. In 1987, the territory of the Yanomami was invaded by 40 000 gold miners. The intruders carried with them diseases, to which the Yanomami have no resistance, resulting in a death rate of 12%. This means that since the gold rush started, every eighth Yanomami has died. The rivers are polluted by mercury, oil and silt which kills the fish. Also, the noise from airplanes, helicopters and cars scare the animals away from the Yanomami hunters. The situation for the Yanomami is extremely grave.

For the first time in its history, delegates from the **small peoples** of the **Soviet Union** were present at a General Assembly of the WCIP. They were *Sàmi, Khanti, Nenets and Nanai.* They presented a document which highlighted the problems of the "small peoples" of the north in the USSR. The story they

Portrait of a Brazilian "garimpeiro"; invaders and carriers of diseases that cause a high mortality rate among the vulnerable Yanomami where so-called development and extraction of raw materials have a detrimental effect.
(Photo: IWGIA archives)

tell is similar to that of the rest of the indigenous world: environmental destruction and disregard for their cultural and social institutions.

Mr. Leif Halonen, Chairman of the **Nordic Saami Council,** spoke on the environment and development in the Arctic regions. He stressed the vulnerable ecosystems in these northern regions of the earth, and said that the indigenous way of life may still be characterized by "production for local consumption, self-sufficiency, smallness of scale and low consumption of resources". In order to safeguard their environment, the indigenous peoples must be given the right to veto, or suspensive veto, in matters involving environmental changes in their homelands. He called for the use of proper biological indicators in order to measure the effects of any project on the environment. He suggested that just as "economic growth is reduced by introducing an index for inflation, it also must be reduced by introducing an ecological index". Finally, he said that the Arctic regions are "becoming permanent waste deposit basins. Pollution comes from far-off countries with ocean streams, or airborne, or by radiation. Also, industries situated in the Arctic regions for the benefit of the majority population, are causing tremendous harm on indigenous peoples."

Delegates commenting on the policies of WCIP

One of the first speakers in the plenary session was Mr. Aslak Nils Sara from the Nordic Saami Council and member of the Executive Council of WCIP. He spoke on the challenges of the World Council. Only a few of the many issues he touched upon can be related here. He began by stressing the fact that indigenous peoples are subject to different ways of oppression: from the almost unnoticeable forms of structural discrimination, to the most outrageous forms of ethnocide. He said that "the most important challenge for the WCIP now is to restore the cultural dignity of the indigenous people. Give them back their self-respect, faith in life and - the future. This task must be carried out both on the local and international levels."

Talking about the internal political struggles taking place within the World Council, Mr. Sara said that indigenous traditions must be used in order to "obtain unity, mutual respect, honesty and justice in relation to each other. We must dissociate ourselves from what we have learnt from the majority population - manipulation and abuse of power in politics."

He called for the rightful place of women in the social and political processes taking place in indigenous societies.

Mr. Sara adressed the global issues of population growth and environmental destruction. The world's population increases with one quarter of a million every day, and will have increased with one billion more during the next ten years, reaching a total of 6.3 billion people. Mr. Sara went on to say that "pollution is an international problem, that does not know or recognize national borders". This is clearly demonstrated by the radioactive contamination after the Chernobyl accident, acid rain and the pollution of the oceans.

He said that the WCIP wishes to be an active participant in "the international development of strategies and methods to reduce contamination". He said that WCIP must make the opinion of the indigenous peoples on these issues clearly known to the world, and that the World Council "should have a natural place and actively participate in the UN Environment and Development Conference in Brazil 1992". Mr. Sara said that "we do support the plan to establish a UN Environment Security Council".

He called for the ban of all testing and use of arms of mass-destruction such as biological, chemical and nuclear weapons. Specifically, he called for a ban on the testing of nuclear weapons taking place in the Pacific region and in Northern Europe.

Some of the delegates encouraged the World Council to look for novel and more efficient ways of advocating the interests of the indigenous peoples. Thus, the delegate speaking on behalf of **COICA** suggested that questions pertaining to land and land rights should be much more stressed by WCIP. He thought that the WCIP should be a forum for urgent action, and not only for resolutions. He suggested that the World Council hold meetings directly with governments, in order to present them with solutions to the problems faced by indigenous peoples. For example, he asked what the position of the WCIP is on what is currently happening to the Yanomami, and with the Amazonian rainforest which is the *lung of the world.*

A delegate from Australia questioned the representation in the World Council, as South America has altogether 54 representatives, whereas the rest of the world only has a total of 25.

Many of the delegates demanded a stronger position of the indigenous women in the WCIP, and suggestions were made for specific constitutional reforms to secure influential positions for the women in the organization. However, the suggested amendments did not receive the necessary support, and it was decided to raise the issue again in an extraordinary General Assembly of the WCIP to be held on 12 October 1991.

The representative from **Nagaland** stressed the importance of having freedom of religious belief. He felt there is a lack of philosophy, of guidance in the indigenous movement. He voiced some skepticism against the glorification of the indigenous people. "Is it really true that we are living in harmony with Mother Earth?", he asked.

He then went on to say that an indigenous philosophy must include the majority peoples, the colonists. "We must look ahead. We must look to the future, and not too much to what has happened in the past".

Different forms of oppression - a variety of concerns

As a final note, IWGIA would like to draw attention to Mr. Aslak Nils Sara's statement on "structural discrimination" and the central place of "dignity" and "self-respect". The significance and importance of this point can be appreciated when we relate it to the concerns expressed by the Indian representatives from Canada, and from the Maori delegation referred to above.

To the guests at the conference, there seemed to be a certain amount of

Donald Rojas from Costa Rica was re-elected President of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples.

tension between the representatives from South- and Central America on the one hand, and the delegates from the other regions on the other. This tension is not the least a result of the different forms of oppression, and the resulting concerns experienced by indigenous peoples around the world. But the regional reports and statements from the Maori, the Canadian Indians, the Small Peoples of the USSR and others, are testimonies to the seriousness of the situation of the indigenous peoples of North America, Northern Europe, northern USSR, the Pacific and Australia. The full appreciation of the different forms of oppression and the resulting variety of indigenous concerns and needs, is a challenge to WCIP, as well as to the governments of the world.

Elections to the Executive Council

After some problems with the electoral procedure, which led to the Canadian nominee withdrawing his candidature, Mr. Donald Rojas from Costa Rica was re-elected as President of the WCIP.

Cultural events

Among the cultural events during the conference was the Saami theatre **Beaivvàs**, playing a Saami drama built on a Saami epos about the son of the Sun travelling on a courting trip in the land of the Giants. The Saami performing artist, Mari Boine Persson, gave a concert on the opening day of the Conference. She also participated in the final cultural event, together with other singers and dancers from Saamiland, Aotearoa and Greenland. At this final event, which took place in the Culture Centre of Tromsø, one of the Maori artists gave an eloquent speech in which he elaborated on the importance of spirituality and communality, and how he had felt an absence of spirituality during the conference.

In a similar vein, many of the participants expressed the view that "cultural events" should have played a more integral part in the proceedings during the whole conference. The Saami artist, Ingunn Utsi, exhibited her drawings, graphics and figurative art, conveying many of her concerns about the relationship between man, animals and nature: a fitting comment to one of the two main themes of the conference.

Indigenous Focus

136

Africa: Indigenous Peoples and the environment[1]

Introduction

In this section we present three different articles on indigenous peoples and some current environmental issues in Africa.

As the Central African forest block is increasingly being exposed to deforestation, the livelihoods of forest peoples are jeopardized. The article discusses the causes of deforestation, as well as the importance of traditional use of non-wood forest resources and the central role of the forest in the culture of forest peoples. The article presents the view that a recognition of the rights of forest peoples is crucial in order not only to halt destructive development efforts, but also to create approaches where conservation efforts and protection of the rights of indigenous peoples go hand in hand.

While there are hardly any significant indigenous organisations or environmental organisations in Central Africa, East and North-East Africa has experienced an interesting growth of organisations. IWGIA is happy to present an initiative which combines research, documentation and advocacy for the pastoral peoples on the Horn of Africa, with an analysis of current environmental issues in the drylands of Africa. The Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa -PENHA- has been launched by a group of researchers from the region, who all have a background in pastoral societies. PENHA will present reports on the situation of pastoral peoples in the Horn of Africa in forthcoming issues of the **Newsletter/Boletin.**

Lastly, we present another case of conflicting interests between conservation efforts and the rights and interests of local residents. The Okavango wetlands and surrounding areas in northwestern Botswana houses a heterogenous population including the *BaGcereku, BaHerero, BaKalaka, BaKgalagadi, BaRotse (Lozi), BaSarwa ("bushmen"), BaSotho, BaSubiya, BaTawana, BaYei, HaMbukushu, MaTebele (BaKololo)* and others. They now question the consequences of a planned buffalo fence. While the fight against the buffalo fence is continuing, the Botswana government has recently succumbed to local and international pressure and suspended another plan concerning dredging of the Okavango delta. The major beneficiary of the Southern Okavango Integrated Water Development project was the De Beers Diamond Mine at Orapa[a].

---

1. The part on Central Africa is written by Espen Wæhle, the part on pastoral peoples in the Horn of Africa is prepared by PENHA, while the Buffalo fence extenstion in Ngamliland has been sent to IWGIA as part of a European campaign.

Pygmy children in makeshift fishing camp in the forest
(Photo: Espen Wæhle, IWGIA)

The Central African Rainforest and its inhabitants are under siege

The African rainforest has its natural distribution in many areas: on the westernmost tip of Africa, along the lower reaches of the Niger river, in the Zaïre Basin (the Central African forest block), encircling the mountains in East Africa and on the islands in the Indian Ocean. From 1980 to 1990, the African continent displayed the highest deforestation rate in the world; it is estimated that 16.5% of the forested area was lost[b]. Further, more than 30% of the African rainforest is now threathened[c]. As the forest is degraded or disappears, African forest peoples are deprived of their source of survival, their rights to land, their sanctuary - and freedom.

What used to be a vast expanse of tropical rainforest in Central Africa, is now on the verge of becoming a new frontier of forest exploitation. The history of the West African rain forests may serve as a sad example and illustrate what is about to happen to the Central African forest block.

The disappearance of the West African rainforest

The West African states (Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana) experienced the world's first large-scale commercial logging operations in tropical rainforests. The logging started in the 1880s after colonization, but really speeded up after 1945, leading to a loss of forest cover from about 420 000 to perhaps 64 000 km^2 a hundred years later[d]. Currently there is not much forest left outside protected areas, and even these areas are under threat. From 1975 onwards, 60 % of the tropical rainforest in this region disappeared - a figure not matched by any other region of the world. Ghana has lost 80%, and the Côte d'Ivoire 85% (10 million ha)[e] of their original forest cover.

As logging companies, plantations (coffee, cocoa, oil-palm, rubber) and mining companies moved in and constructed roads and railways, the forest was opened to the colonization of the forest by land-hungry peasants from the savannahs in the north. Without the infrastructure and services provided by the companies undertaking the industrial exploitation, such a large scale colonization could not have taken place[f].

Central African rainforests: 80% of Africa's rainforest on the brink of destruction

Despite growing global concern over the fate over the destruction of the rainforest in South America and Asia, the rainforest of equatorial Africa remains forgotten. The Central African rainforest almost equals the size of Western Europe, and as such, is the largest block of rainforest in the world but one. It covers the southern parts of Cameroon and the Central African Republic and dominates Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, the Congo, much of Zaire and spills over into Angola. These forests cover some 15 million ha and stretch over a length of 3.400 km[g]. Much of this forest block is largely untouched and support a wealth of species. Zaïre, for example, is Africa's richest country in terms of plants and animals. Out of more than 11 000 plants, more than one-third is unique to Zaïre. Among the 409 mammalian species you may find rare animals like the eastern lowland gorilla, pygmy chimpanzee, the okapi (forest giraffe) and forest elephants[h].

We may soon witness the start of a timber bonanza in the Central African forest block. The errors made in West Africa are about to be repeated in the Zaïre Basin. In the Central African Republic, 90% of the forests have been allocated to different logging firms. European companies, mainly French, and government agencies are pushing through new roads with financial assistance from the African Development Bank.

In Congo, several logging roads are under construction, or have recently been completed in the northern part of the country. A road is to replace the cumbersome railway between Brazzaville and Point Noire, this time financed by the World Bank. The World Bank also finances a logging scheme in Congo. In Cameroon, there has been a recent construction of logging roads in the east of the country. New concessions are being opened. Both French, Dutch and German companies operate in Cameroon. In Zaïre the river systems have been the major transportation route for timber, and current concessions are to be found near navigable rivers. Logging is increasing; the major companies are German, Belgian, Italian and French[i].

In Central Africa the companies are seldom clearfelling, they are selectively logging their concession. The companies go for the most valuable species and are not operating fuller schemes for sustainable forestry. The technique is wasteful, destroying a lot more than what is being taken out. Further, the companies are not involved in research and reforestation.

According to a recent study for the ITTO (the International Tropical Timber Organization) including six African countries, there are no sustained-yield forest management systems which are being practised over large areas. As other studies have demonstrated, the ITTO study regards the conversion of forests for agriculture as a major cause of tropical deforestation. However, at least a part of the destruction is due to inadequate, and sometimes even counter-productive, government policies. The governments in the region holds the view that "development starts where the forest ends" thereby prioritizing agricultural development. Little is done to integrate sustainable use of all forest resources, to develop new forms of agro-forestry and integrated forms of land-use planning[j].

The roads and the opening up of the forest inevitably give way to colonization. Up to the present, large tracts of the Central African forest block have been relatively inaccessible. National governments are seldom able to provide for proper education, health care and other services in remote areas. The local population have few outlets for exporting cashcrops and bushmeat to major markets. The logging companies, however, provide such services, yet the benefits are short-lived, lasting only as long as a timber concession. The land-hungry savannah peasants do not respect the forest as original forest dwellers do. The newcomers have no knowledge about sustainable forest agriculture, which in turn leads to harmful modes of swidden agriculture[k]. The opening up of the forest also attracts small-scale entrepreneurs in search of wood fuel and charcoal to be exported to towns and cities outside the forest. The over-all result is clearfelling or a severely degraded forest.

The fate of forest peoples of Equatorial Africa

The indigenous peoples of the equatorial African rainforest, the so-called *Pygmies*, are well-known throughout the world. The Pygmies are scattered over a vast area from Cameroon and Gabon in the west, to Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda in the east. Although they have traditionally subsisted as hunter-gatherers, this classical picture of the pygmies no longer apply to all of them today. There are many groups living as nomadic and semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers, but some are sedentary hunter-gatherers, horticulturalists, plantation workers, town- and city-dwellers.

Their exact number is unknown, but estimates state slightly less than 200 000[l]. The figure may, however, be even higher. All the Pygmy groups of Equatorial Africa have developed close relationships to neighbouring groups of cultivators, fisher folk and other forest inhabitants. Today a total of some 12 million people live in the Central African forest block, and there are up to 450 different ethnic groups[m].

We will prefer to see all the traditional inhabitants of the region, Pygmy and non-Pygmy alike, as being genuine forest peoples. In current writing on the deforestation and the fate of forest peoples, the Pygmies are singled out as **the** threatened group. Such preconceptions concerning the status of forest

Efe boy practising with the bow. The Efe are known as archers as opposed to other Mbuti groups who are net hunters. (Photo: Espen Wæhle, IWGIA)

peoples reflect Western romantic attitudes towards the Pygmies, and not the perceptions of the forest peoples themselves.

The major characteristic of the Central African Pygmies is not that they are hunter-gatherers, and that they represent the only true forest people, but that they are all involved in important exchange relationships with neighbouring peoples. Different forest peoples like the Pygmies and the cultivators have partly established their separate adaptations to the forest and the encompassing social world; partly too, their adaptation rests in their relationships with neighbouring groups. Interdependence between various ethnic groups and modes of subsistence is in fact the hallmark of adaptation in the Central African forest block.

The *Efe (Mbuti Pygmies*, usually associated as archers, due to their main hunting technique) of the Ituri forest in northeastern Zaïre, are often cited as an example of a traditional and little acculturated group of hunter-gatherers. Yet, the Efe may fetch some 60% of their food from the gardens of the neighbouring *Lese* horticulturalists. Maybe the Efe could survive on a strict forest diet, but they certainly prefer not to do so.

A presentation of how the Efe and Lese use forest resources may illustrate why they both are forest peoples, and how both groups provide necessary conditions for each other, for long term adaptation. The example also serves to illustrate the crucial importance of non-wood forest products

Efe hunting leader in the forest during a break in the drive hunt (battue).
(Photo: Espen Wæhle, IWGIA)

to native forest peoples. Lastly, the following will also serve to illustrate how central the forest is to forest peoples in cultural terms.

Efe and Lese of the Ituri, examples of forest peoples in Central Africa

Presently the majority of the Lese villages are located along the roads in the northeastern part of the Ituri forest, Haute-Zaïre. The Lese are practicing tropical slash-and-burn horticulture and some agroforestry. The bulk of their efforts are presently geared towards subsistence production; they were more involved in a cash crop economy until the end of the 1970s. The major crops are cassava, plantains, peanuts, rice, corn and sweet potatoes. These are supplemented by squash, yams, papaya, pineapple, oranges, lemons, sweet bananas, beans, onions, peppers and tomatoes, but a given villager will not grow all the supplementary crops mentioned. In addition, some grow medicinal plants and tobacco. All villagers grow and tend palms: oil-palm for palm-nut oil and the raphia palm for building/handicraft materials and palm wine.

Normally, the Lese will clear one garden for peanuts and one for rice. The gardens should lay fallow at least some 7 to 8 years, but a fallow period of 15 to 20 years is not uncommon among the Lese. The gardens and former gardens, in various stages of succession, are scattered in a 700 to 3 000 meter wide zone along the road. Village houses or villages are moved as distance to gardens increases. As the Ituri in general is sparsely settled, there is no real shortage of land. The Lese men do most of their agricultural work in the period from October/November through February/March. At this time they measure, choose, cut trees and bushes, clear, burn and prepare the gardens. The Lese women will participate in some of the clearing and preparation in addition to their own tasks later in the cycle: planting, weeding, scaring off birds to protect the seeds, and harvesting. The women's agricultural tasks keep them occupied for most months of the year. Clearing, cutting, planting and harvesting are spread over a period of a few weeks, thus allowing the different households and villages to assist each other, during these peak periods demanding a lot of manpower.

The anthropologist Colin Turnbull has contributed to a perception which maintains that the Pygmies are forest peoples, while their cultivating neighbours are not. Turnbull[n] stresses that the *Bila*, a group of horticulturalists around Epulu in central Ituri, have an almost frantic fear of the forest and that they harbour a deep reluctance to engage in activites in the forest. The Lese, on the other hand, neither fear nor abstain from forest occupations like fishing, hunting and gathering. The Lese and the Efe even deny that Turnbull's view of the Bila attitudes towards the forest is correct.

The Lese make use of the forest and forest resources much like other equatorial forest peoples[o]. The Lese fish, especially in the dry season (January to March/April) with a wide range of techniques. Fishing is largely a collective endeavour encompassing several households. As hunters, the Lese regard themselves as masters of traps and snares. More than ten different traps are known, designed to catch a variety of game from birds to elephants. Duikers, porcupines and birds are currently the primary game caught in the snares set up on the outskirts of the gardens.

Young men hunt monkeys and birds with bow-and-arrow either alone, or with other villagers or Efe. Some still arrange a yearly *battue*, a collective hunt where women, children and old men act as beaters, driving wild game from cover towards waiting hunters with bow, arrows and spears. The Lese gather wild forest foods such as honey, mushrooms, nuts, eggs and various medicinal plants. Even if the Lese utilize game and forest resources in various ways, their activities in the forest are never as substantial as those of the Efe, who are regarded to be the true forest experts. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the Lese undertake independent searches for forest resources, some times staying in the forest for periods of one to two weeks on fishing expeditions or in special villager trapping camps.

The Efe build their hemispherical leaf-thatched huts in the forest - either in base camps close to the villages or in hunting-, fishing- and honey-camps deep in the forest. The Efe will leave for the forest in the honey season which can last, in good years from July throughout October, only returning occasionally to the village for a few hours of exchange and trade. Honey is beyond doubt their favourite food.

During the honey-season they may totally forget hunting or neglect villagers' calls for work and assistance. It is also a season of joy, songs, dances and forest magic. The honey season gradually blends into a hectic period of termite gathering. Hunting will take place all year round, but the dry season (December to end of May) is the main hunting season, and the Efe may leave the base camps, staying in forest camps for months. The main game is ungulates and monkeys of various kinds. The dry season is also the major period for fishing in the rivers of the forest. A wide variety of forest resources are gathered all year round, according to season and availability. The women gather most of the forest foods, but men will also gather for their own consumption and even bring something back to the family. The Efe gather wild yams and other roots and tubers, leaves, nuts, berries, termites, caterpillars and millipedes, birds eggs, tortoise and their eggs, forest snails, crabs, mushrooms and fruits. When the Efe are living in base camps close to the villages, hunting and gathering trips may also take place up to several times a week.

In common with other parts of the Ituri forest and elsewhere in Central Africa, the relations between the Efe and the Lese have both social, political, economical and religious dimensions.

In this presentation we will concentrate on the economical and ecological basis of these interrelationships[P].

The Efe now and then provide their major village partners (**patron**) with meat, mushrooms, fish, honey, wild yams, nuts, etc. as well as building materials for houses, plant fibres for weaving mats and baskets, poisoned arrows, medicinal plants and so on. For a long time (possibly for generations) the Lese have contributed a substantial, if not major, part of the Efe diet in garden crops. As masters of ironwork and pottery, the Lese have provided arrow-heads, knives, machetes, spears, cooking pots and containers. Tobacco, marijuana and salt are highly prized by the Efe and are said to be the most important goods if the Efe are to be attracted to work and exchange. Market commodities such as soap, belts, aluminium cooking pots, old bottles, used clothing and fabrics, fishing hooks and line are also much desired and needed by the Efe. These exchanges may be analyzed as approaching a form of generalized reciprocity, they are codified as gifts or "just giving". Reciprocity of the exchange may be delayed, or may eventually never take place. One should not assume, however, that all forest products are provided by the Efe and all village or market products provided by the Lese. The villagers may give the Efe meat or fish they have caught, while an Efe can give eggs (from one of their few chickens) or a fish hook or two.

Throughout their agricultural cycle the Lese expect and normally receive assistance in clearing, cutting, planting, harvesting, weeding, etc. The period the Efe stay in village base camps largely coincides with the periods when the villagers are short of labour for preparation, planting and harvesting of the gardens. As swidden agriculture is labour intensive, the villagers are in need of both their own Efe and other Efe they can attract with food, tobacco and marijuana. One should note that spreading the various agricultural tasks so that households and villages can pool their labour, and employing the Efe are probably basic requirements for maintaining Lese swidden horticultural adaptation.

Compared to the flow of goods, this aspect of Efe labour for the villagers has almost been neglected in the literature. Both Efe men, women and children are asked to carry out household tasks such as fetching water and firewood, washing clothes, pounding rice, assisting in house-building and repairs, and running small errands. The Efe may also accompany a villager on a visit or act as a porter when, for example, rice for planting is purchased in a distant market place. Village chickens are often kept in Efe camps as the surrounding forest guards against attacks from predatory birds.

The villagers do not work much for the Efe, but they may provide certain services such as taking care of the Efe's chickens when the Efe live in forest camps, or look after household utensils (cooking pots, mortars and pestles, etc.), money or other valuables when a camp reduces the number of things to be carried during nomadic periods. The Lese also lend their fish traps or dogs to their Efe; in return they get a defined part of the catch.

The Efe and the Lese Dese have been in contact and have established relations for many generations. This has not led to Lese assimilation of the Efe; it is obvious that there are still two distinct cultures.

Land rights and land rites

The forest is not only a resource base, but also a sanctuary to Central African forest peoples. When the forest is threathened, the forest peoples risk much more than their economic rights to the land. To the Efe, for example, the forest is far more than a mere source of subsistence. To the Efe, the forest is a universe, both spiritual, social and material, yet in a seamless unity. Living

Efe girl with face paint watching the collecting of honey which is very important to the Efe. They have a lot of ritual around asking the forest to give honey to the people. (Photo: Espen Wæhle, IWGIA)

and acting in the forest is also a way of relating to a non-material world. The realm of the spiritual infuses all aspects of Efe physical and social life.

The most striking feature of Efe daily life is the comprehensive and extensive range of acts which serves to ensure world renewal. These acts involve exchange between the Efe and the spiritual world and the forest. The Efe acknowledge a range of ritual sanctions on behaviour versus the eco-system and the natural resources. Let me demonstrate what might take place during a day in the honey camp.

While the men in the morning warm themselves around the fires in front of the huts, they will call out to the surrounding forest: "*uùù-eē*". The call does not have an actual meaning, but what they do is to ask the forest to give honey to the people. Some men rub bee's wax in front of their ears "to better hear the bees". Others wear chips taken from trees with honey in their hair above the forehead "to better see the bees". On the way to a honey-tree, the family gathers *mangongo* and *songba* leaves. They pack up the honey in mangongo. The songba are wrapped around burning logs to produce smoke which pacifies the bees. Songba are chosen to secure a continual supply of honey. Old women wear them in their waist-strings in the honey-season. At the foot of the honey tree, men blow their honey-flutes and make repeated calls into the forest. A certain call is enacted if they have been compelled to fell a tree instead of climbing it for the honey. At night, the women lead the singing of honey songs and songs on the descent and nature of the Efe.

Not only does a local Efe group share the forest, kinship, work, companionship, resources and territory as well as problem solving - it also shares common beliefs and rituals that serve to integrate them. The abundant menu of fauna and flora resources cannot be harvested irrespective of taboos or rules. Most taboos relate to the period from when pregnancy has been noticed until to the weaning of the child. Children are also precluded from eating many categories of foods. The taboo system is far more sophisticated in relation to forest food than to village produce. The **akou** (totem animal) serves as an integrative factor between different descent groups constituting the core of a given local group. There is no room here to describe the multitude of charms, enchantments, taboos, hunting-rituals, songs and dances among the Efe. It is, however, important to stress that Efe beliefs and ritual practices point to a perception of balance and imbalance. Crying out to the forest, forest rituals, observation of food restrictions, the use of *songba* leaves and other practices described above amount to the prestations or gifts to the forest and the spiritual part of the world. A corollary argument is that the forest and the spiritual is treated as an exchange partner[9].

The future of the Ituri forest

The Efe and the Lese are both dependent on the preservation of the forest. They need large areas and a wide range of resources to maintain and develop their lives and cultures. Not having any legal rights to the forest and its resources, nor real education or development options, they have no means to decide themselves about their future - what they want and desire.

The rights and livelihoods of forest peoples in the Ituri, such as the Efe and the Lese, are increasingly threatened. The people of the Ituri region include several types of communities with different cultures and historic roots. On one hand there are the Efe and other *Mbuti* ("Pygmy") groups. On the other hand we find horticulturalists of diverse ethnic origins such as *Lese, Mamvu, Budu, Ndaka, Mbo, Bila* and others.

In the northeastern Ituri, the forest has been seriously degraded due to logging for charcoal production. Small-scale entrepreneurs are exporting the charcoal to the savannah towns north of the forest. In the south-east, farmers from the over-populated regions in the highlands are increasingly colonizing the forest. At the western fringes of the Ituri forest, along the Lindi river, starts a series of large timber concessions that spread westwards on the northern and southern side of the Ituri, Lindi, Itimbiri and Zaïre rivers. In some areas gold prospectors have invaded the forest. Increased cash-cropping, establishment of saw mills and plantations and other activities may also lead to increased deforestation. The Ituri forest is increasingly threatened by deforestation.

Parks or people

Zaïrian authorities, represented by the Zaïrean Institute for Conservation of Nature (IZCN), has, since 1988, cooperated with World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) to plan what may become the largest national park in Africa. This effort to halt the destruction of the Ituri forest is to a great extent financed by Tabazaïre, the largest tobacco producer in the country. The government of Zaïre has expressed a desire to establish the park as a measure of conservation of the endemic forest giraffe, the okapi (*Okapi johnstoni*). The park will also cover some major centers of biodiversity as identified by the WWF and the World Conservation Union (IUCN). The Okapi park is planned to cover 1.4 million hectares. IZCN and WWF believe that this national park will ensure the long-term conservation of the okapi and enhance the lifestyle of Zaïreans living within and near the proposed park. While the national park is being planned, IZCN and WWF has recommended, as an interim measure, to establish the Okapi Wildlife Reserve.

IWGIA will come back to a discussion of the park plans and possible consequences in forthcoming issues of **IWGIA Newsletter /IWGIA Boletin**. Here we will merely express some concerns relating to the current mode of planning which does not seem to bring the forest peoples into efforts to safeguard the forest right from the start of the planning process.

The park plans are not yet fully finalized, but a model for park management, and the integration of conservation and human use of the area has been chosen[r]. Basically, the park will be established with a 10 km wide buffer zone. In the centre of the park there should be a policy of strict preservation, while the buffer zone should be managed in a multiple use manner. It is assumed that the protection/utilization approach would involve many people in a partnership to protect the park. The existing forest peoples will be permitted to live along roads, hunt, fish, gather, grow crops and cut wood in the buffer zone. The inhabitants will retain some form of land rights within the buffer zone, but not in the park area. Activities in the buffer zone will also be restricted, as the area will be managed as a partial wildlife reserve. The circulation of people in the total protection zone will be prohibited, except for Park personnel, Pygmies and visitors.

The plans for the park are inspired by the need to conserve biodiversity in general, and foremost, the rare okapi. In spite of the expressed intentions to integrate park plans with the need for human exploitation of the forest, the planning involves a conservation imperative. The management scheme for the park as a whole, seems to regard people more of a hindrance than a help.

Planning for parks to conserve the biodiversity in the Central African forest must take the need of forest peoples as this Efe grandmother and grandchild for example, into consideration. (Photo: Espen Wæhle)

When park legislation has given conservation goals such a priority, land rights of local people are extinguished. This type of top-down planning may become counter-productive in the long run. Traditional land rights and rights to the forest are not sufficiently respected in the Okapi park plans. Overnight, forest peoples like the Lese and the Efe, resident on their own lands, will be redefined as "encroachers" and "poachers". If they pursue their wide range of traditional subsistence activities in the preservation zone, and to a certain extent in the buffer zone, they will become criminals.

We fear that, without a shift in the mode of planning involving a respect for the rights of the forest peoples, the ultimate conservation goals cannot be reached. As experience from other parks in the developing world has shown, the current planning approach are most likely to result in resentment among the forest peoples leading to a management nightmare for the authorities[5]. Even if WWF is committed to "conservation for people" including "recognizing the land rights of indigenous forest dwellers", we can not see that this has been an integral part of the planning so far.

We are waiting to see if the ecologists and the authorities relinquish control over park planning and allow the forest peoples to participate in the objects of conservation.

Campaigning for African rain forests and forest peoples

We have recently been informed that the African NGO's Environment Network (ANEN) is now launching a campaign on Central African rainforest issues. For more information, please contact:

ANEN
P.O. Box 53844
Nairobi
KENYA

IWGIA is currently involved in the establishment of a network - The African Rainforest Organisation (ARO) - that will focus both on the Central African rainforest and on the rights of Central African forest peoples. For more information, please contact:

ARO c/o IWGIA
Fiolstræde 10
DK-1171 Copenhagen K
DENMARK

The Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa (PENHA)

The idea of setting up a network focusing on pastoral issues in the Horn of Africa originated from a group of researchers and development workers from the region, who are concerned about the future of pastoralists in the Horn.

During 1987-88 the founding network members established informal contacts to discuss the idea of setting up a Network in the Horn of Africa. The Head of the Geography Department of Khartoum University, Sudan, supported the idea of the network and has contributed to the present proposal. There is also a great deal of interest for the initiative among academics, planners and researchers in Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Uganda. Some have been contacted in a personal capacity and have also worked as researchers and consultants among pastoralists in the region.

Environmental degradation, famine, drought, wars, displacement and encroachment for almost two decades have made pastoral groups in the region very vulnerable and their future very uncertain. As a result of the combined effect of the above factors, the pastoral production system is in crisis. Some groups have abandoned pastoralism to take up other means of subsistence, but the great majority of pastoralists see their occupation as the only way of surviving in this mostly arid environment.

Development interventions by national governments and international organisations vary from country to country within the region. In general, however, one finds that national governments have neglected pastoralists in policy formation, except for favouring sedentarization. Apart from misconceptions about pastoralism and agro-pastoralism as a way of life and production systems, there is also a lack of empirical research on issues of direct relevance to pastoralists and agropastoralists. These include indigenous technology, land tenure, coping mechanisms, pastoralist institutions and so on. Planners, administrators and politicians in most cases seem to lack crucial information on key aspects of pastoral production, particularly on zonal basis. At present there is a major information gap on the pastoral economy (e.g. levels of take off, marketing patterns and control), pastoral technology, adaptation, equity and survival strategies of herders.

One therefore finds very little work done on indigenous breeds, pastoral information and risk aversion strategies. Technical interventions to develop pastoralism in the Horn have been limited to water development, some breed improvement around urban centres, and large-scale veterinary campaigns to eradicate major animal diseases such as rinderpest.

The pastoral and environmental network in the Horn of Africa hopes to act as a research and development group helping to mobilize the indigenous research capacity on pastoralism within the Horn. By focusing on indigenous knowledge, land tenure and health, it hopes to fill important research gaps which might have been neglected by national governments and international organizations. PENHA has already established good contacts with institutions, individual researchers and pastoral groups inside and outside the Horn of Africa. It is in the process of establishing wider contacts with OXFAM, ACORD, Panos, IIED, University of Bergen (Centre for Dev. Studies), Agricultural University of Norway (NORAGRIC) and others. In this way it hopes to ensure wider participation of available expertise inside and outside the Horn of Africa.

Aims and Objectives of PENHA

PENHA has a regional perspective, and by focusing on specific areas of research hopes to contribute towards a broader understanding of pastoral problems and propose some joint solutions. Through networking, workshops collaborative research and a newsletter, PENHA will ensure that the fruit of research are widely disseminated through the region.

Apart from information, dissemination and exchange of experiences, PENHA is also committed to the development and support of indigenous knowledge, and approaches which build upon existing strategies and skills. Initially, the main research focus will be on indigenous technical knowledge, land tenure, and health, among selected pastoral groups in the Horn.

The applied research on the above themes is expected to break new ground, which in turn will lead to a better understanding of the varied and complex pastoral and agro-pastoral production systems in the region. In this way PENHA hopes to contribute towards informed policy recommendations which could lead to the formulation of more sustainable development programmes among pastoralists in the region. The ultimate aim is to work towards establishing an independent, regionally-based Pastoral Nomadic Institute in the Horn.

Specific Objectives

To establish an indigenous Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa to carry out the following activities in the region:

a) To encourage research into the current state of pastoralism and agropastoralism in the Horn og Africa. This will involve identifying and linking-up of academics, development practitioners and planners working inside and outside the region. The linking-up may be strengthened by publications, wider circulation of research findings, as well as sharing of information and experience regionally through workshops, training, newsletters and occasional monographs.

b) To create a forum for inter-regional research on pastoralism by organising lectures, seminars, workshops and conferences inside and outside the region.

c) To encourage multi-disciplinary research on pastoralism by African scholars within the Horn, and to strengthen the indigenous research and management capacity on pastoral issues. The Network will also encourage applied research which will increase the understanding of pastoral systems and contribute to a positive policy towards pastoralists and sustainable development.

d) To work in partnership with pastoral associations or groups in the region by supporting their institutions and initiatives. This could include advocacy on legal rights, lobbying, translation of essential documents (in local languages) and preparing appropiate training material based on indigenous knowledge.

e) To support the design and formulation of pastoral development projects by agencies, institutions and other bodies working among pastoral groups in the Horn of Africa. Network members will be informed and encouraged to take part in consultancies and research partnerships which will be of benefit to the region.

f) To establish strong contacts with other networks and institutions inside and outside the Horn of Africa who have similar objectives.

Recent Activities

The workshop, which was held in London during November 1989, is seen as a major landmark in the development of the Pastoralist Network.

More than forty participants from the Horn of Africa Region, U.K. and Nordic countries came together (30 Nov 1989) to attend the first ever Regional Workshop on pastoralism in the Horn of Africa. Participants included pastoral researchers and development workers from the region, representatives of institutions from the region, several NGO's and resource people, representatives of British and Nordic Universities.

The meeting was organised by PENHA founder members and was partly funded by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED - Drylands Programme). PENHA Co-ordinator, Dr. Zeremariam Fre, introduced the day workshop by highlighting the socio-political and environmental crises facing the Horn, the need for regional peace as a prerequisite to long term development in the region and the relevance for establishing an effective Pastoralist Network in the region.

The following were the main aims of the November workshop:

- to gain publicity;
- to show and identify gaps in research;
- to involve funding bodies in discussing topical issues of relevance to pastoral people;
- to pool available human resources;
- to plan the future.

The general consensus among the participants was that the proposal coming from an indigenous group to establish a regional network was a very positive one.

The main research themes (i.e. indigenous knowledge, land tenure and pastoralist health) so far identified by PENHA were generally supported by the participants who also identified other themes, such as ecological and

Ethiopian refugee child. The need for regional peace is a prerequisite to longterm development in the Horn of Africa which is beset with socio-political and environmental crises. (Photo: M. Vanappelgehm, ILO)

political securities, gender matters (e.g. role of women in pastoralism), the question of equity, famine relief and pastoralist rehabilitation. PENHA was advised not to be too ambitious (given the funding constraints) but to identify specific research and networking activities, which could contribute to positive policy formulations towards pastoralists and strengthen indigenous research efforts on pastoralist matters.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The first draft of the workshop report, prepared by PENHA, has been circulated to all workshop participants and relevant institutions in the Horn of Africa.

During the establishment phase (1990-91) PENHA is planning to conduct a series of informal talks about pastoralists, agropastoralists and environmental conditions in the Horn. The speakers will be mostly from the region who have some field experience from the Horn; the talks will take place in London at an interval of 2-3 months. Such talks will be open to PENHA affiliates, members of the public and relevant institutions. If invited, PENHA members are prepared to give talks and lectures in schools and other institutions. We plan to work closely with local environmental and development education groups.

The talks are intended to create more awareness within the UK on pastoralist and environmental issues in the Horn of Africa Region. One such informal talk recently took place at the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED- London). The talk, by M.S.Dolal, focused on the Ogadenian pastoralists in the Horn and covered pastoral resources, human displacement and state policy. About twenty-three people attended this first informal talk organised by PENHA.

During late July 1990, Dr. Gelal eldin El Tayeb of Khartoum University and the Chairman of the Sudan Environment Conservation Society gave a talk on environment and development in Sudan. The talk was attended by more than fifty participants and eighteen NGOs were represented. Other informal talks are forthcoming and some will be conducted in close collaboration with ODI-Pastoral Network. Other informal talks are forthcoming.

There are several other activities in the process of establishing PENHA as an organization. These include publicity for the Network through effective channels and visits to other organisations; affiliation with institutions and individuals here in Scandinavia, the USA and in the Horn of Africa; seeking charity registration and accommodation; limited research; general administration and so on.

Summary Future Plan of Activities (Phase I 1990-91)

These comprise of the on-going activities (informal talks, affiliation etc.) and the carrying out of small-scale projects which are designed to help PENHA establish on a sound basis.

The two main projects for 1990 are the proposed visit to the Horn of Africa and the production of information monographs on selected pastoralist groups in the Horn of Africa. PENHA will also take up commissioned research work for IIED in Sudan and Ethiopia during 1990-91.

With the present proposal, PENHA is seeking the means to develop a programme over a four-year period. The main aim of the present proposal is to:

a) Consolidate on-going institutional links within the Horn Region and undertake new research and networking initiatives.

b) Produce occasional monographs for the general public as well as policy makers, NGOs and other concerned institutions.

Dankali women from Somalia, with the camel which carries their home. The Horn of Africa is home to millions of indigenous who practice various forms of pastoralism ranging from camel nomadism to mixed farming.
(Photo: Aubert de la Rue, UNESCO)

1. The Proposed Visit to the Horn of Africa

The main objective of the visit is to make direct contact with indigenous organisations to publicise PENHA and seek ways of establishing clear working relationships with specific institutions and pastoral community groups. The visit will take place during December 1990 and January 1991.

The visit will also help PENHA in formalising institutional links, identifying potential research partners and assessing current research in progress.

Indigenous organisations, NGO's, government establishments and regional research centres will be visited and consulted. PENHA's research themes (indigenous technology, land tenure and health) will be discussed with the relevant departments in the Horn.

The visit is being organised in close collaboration with the Institute of Technology in Djibouti; The Centre for Basic Research in Kampala- Uganda; ACORD and SOMAC- Somalia; and OXFAM- Kenya. Pastoralist communities will be visited in areas where PENHA had previous contacts.

2. Production of Monographs on Selected Pastoral and Agropastoral Groups in the Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa is home to millions of pastoralists and agropastoralists who practice various forms of pastoralism, ranging from camel nomadism to mixed farming. They have been facing a variety of ecological and socio-political problems which have amounted to a regional crisis; the past two decades have been witnessing the intensification of such crisis. Famine, cattle raiding, encroachment of grazing territory, conflict over grazing and water resources are manifestations of this deep-rooted crisis.

PENHA would like to study specific groups in the Horn of Africa, focusing on society, human occupation, pastoral economy, ecological history, famine, government intervention and policy. We would also like to look at the emerging forms of socio-environmental adaptations among pastoralists and their responses to the series of ecological and political problems they face in the Horn of Africa. PENHA is seeking limited funding to commission an independent study on some pastoral groups by researchers from the region; the monographs will then be widely circulated by the organisation.

With the above themes in perspective, we would like to work on the Afar and the Ogadenian pastoralists in the eastern side of the Horn. A third monograph will be on a review of Public Health Services among pastoralists in Southern Ethiopia.

3. Commissioned Work for the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED-Drylands Programme)

The IIED has asked PENHA to conduct commissioned research on its behalf in Sudan and Ethiopia. The study forms part of a broader enquiry into the current relationships between the research community and non-governmental organisations in dryland Africa, and the prospects for encouraging greater collaboration between these two groups. It is hoped that the outcome of the research would lead to improved collaboration which would bring benefits to both sides.

The research work will be carried out by PENHA and its partners in the Horn of Africa during December 1990 and January 1991.

4. Other Research in Progress

PENHA encourages research on pastoral and environmental issues by able and promising researchers who are indigenous to the region. Some work is already in progress and the following are some examples:

a) *The Ogadenian pastoralists: pastoral resources, human displacement and state policy,* by M.S.Dolal (available in a discussion paper form).
b) *Developing indigenous pastoral knowledge and practices for Development, Extension and Training Programmes in the Horn of Africa,* by Z.Fre.
c) *The economics of pastoralism and pastoral development in Somalia,* by H.Nur.
d) Preliminary review of Public Health Services among pastoralists in Southern Ethiopia, by B. Gessese.
e) *Environment and Development in Sudan, by Gemal eldin El Tayeb* (available in a discussion paper form).

PENHA Manpower Resources and the Need for Funding

Throughout the three years from its inception to existence, PENHA has depended heavily on goodwill and the effort of its members. The November 1989 workshop, seen as a major landmark in the development of the organization, was partly funded by the International Institute for Environment and Development- Drylands Programme. Such timely assistance by IIED greatly complemented our voluntary efforts. A lot of our work however, will continue to depend upon voluntary support from our members, and we hope to draw upon our regional expertise in planning and conducting our activities in future.

PENHA is managed by a steering committee and its activities are co-ordinated by a full time co-operator who works on a voluntary basis.

The number of PENHA affiliates at present stands at over fifty including twenty institutions which are based in the UK, the Horn of Africa and Scandinavia. We are very encouraged by the above responses but we also wish to live up to our name, and would like to respond effectively as an organization. Some of our crucial activities require funding, and in terms of funding, PENHA is unable to meet some of the project expenses. We are, therefore, requesting partial funding from sympathetic institutions to fully carry out our proposed activities.

Buffalo Fence Extension: Ngamiland, Botswana

The so-called "Buffalo Fence", now under construction in the northern part of Botswana, will cut across some of the country's, and Africa's, last wilderness -areas that are not only rich in game and bird life of various varieties, but which comprise a fragile wetland ecosystem unique in the world.

The Botswana government's rationale behind the fence project is that it will protect wildlife in the "stock-free zone" from encroachment by cattle, following the near-eradication of the tsetse fly (a carrier of **nagana** sickness in cattle and sleeping sickness in man) by a concerted insecticide spraying campaign.

Residents in the affected area, as well as interested conservationists elsewhere in Botswana and in adjacent territories, have expressed their concerns over the project on a number of occasions, and local and international media attention is increasingly being focused on the area. Criticism of the project centers on the allegation that there has been insufficient consideration of its possible ramifications, that there has been insufficient consultation with the people most directly affected, and that the Botswana government is, therefore, not adhering to its promise to maintain " a balance of interests

Bathusi Lethare, Education officer of the Kalahari Society in Maun, Botswana. Residents as well as conservationists express concern over the project. (Photo: Frans Welman, WIP) between the preservation of nature and environment including wildlife on the one hand, and man and development on the other".

AREAS OF CONCERN

1. No adequate environmental impact study carried out

Although the authorities in Gaborone claim to have have been assured by their Wildlife Department that the fence will not interfere with the movement of buffalo, which occur in the area in large numbers, and that, additionally, wildlife migration routes will head away from the fence and towards the ajdacent Caprivi Strip, the fact remains that research on wildlife migration patterns in central Africa in general is at best cursory.

The Botswana government has access to figures which could in some cases be 15 years or older, and comprehensive, up-to-date data is not available. Conservationists and researchers will confirm that it is an accepted fact that large animal populations - such as elephant- do migrate annually across vast distances in the region. They are believed to cover hundreds of kilometres in their treks, and are no respecters of international borders. Hence, elephant from Botswana could well at some stage also pass through neighbouring Namibia, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Although there has been limited research, with the help of satellite tracking, on elephant migration patterns in Namibia's Etosha Park, no similar project has yet been undertaken in Botswana, or in neighbouring countries. Simply put: what is known about where the elephant goes is scanty.

And, what is true for elephant is also true for other animals, such as buffalo. In the region which would be affected by the fence, there are significant numbers of oribi and roan antelope - both on Botswana's endangered list - and sable, which is a threatened species in African and world terms.

The minimum which would be needed before a project such as the "Buffalo Fence" is implemented, would be a thorough study of migration patterns and routes, with the aid of satellite tracking, and this would be best conducted by an independent, credible research body of scientists. This call has been made by a number of people in the Okavango area (c.f. letter from professional hunter W.W. Phillips, see below.)

Also, there has been no thorough assessment of the possible adverse environmental impact which the introduction of an intensive cattle regime will have, not only on the area immediately around the fence, but also on the lower reaches of the delta.

2. Possible adverse impact on animal migration patterns and concentrations:

The fence, as planned, extends from the edge of the Okavango wetlands (Duba Island) through the Selinda area to Sandoroka and then north to the Namibian border.

A Bayei family from the Okavango delta. Insufficient consultation of villagers is the charge levelled at authorities concerning the Buffalo Fence project.
(Photo: Frans Welman, WIP)

Once erected, it will present an impassable barrier to wild animals which move, and have moved for millenia, instinctively between the flood plains of the delta and the woodland and bush savannah of Botswana's northern border.

Once the herds come into contact with the fence, they will try to get through the wires, barge a way through or jump over. The fence, however, will be made from closely-spaced steel wire, reinforced at intervals with thick steel cable, which in itself is capable of withstanding a lateral impact of 25 tonnes. The fence posts will be made from stout large-diametre wooden poles.

With the possible exception of the more agile adult buck and a handful of determined adult elephants, few creatures will be able to penetrate the barrier. Animals which attempt to get through the fence will, in all likelihood, be caught up in its strands to die a slow, agonizing death, while others will probably run up and down the fence in desperation to find a way around it, becoming increasingly exhausted and eventually dying.

The near-catastrophic consequences of the erection of man-made obstacles across animal migration routes have been documented on a number of occasions.

There were devastating effects on Namibia's elephant population in the late 1960s, when a fence was erected on the western side of the Etosha Park as part of apartheid's grand plan for the territory then ruled by South Africa. In addition, springbok populations declined drastically after farms adjoining the Namib desert winter foraging grounds of the animals, were fenced. Thousands of gamebok fell victim in a similar way to the guns of unscrupulous farmers and hunters when a fence was erected on the eastern side of Namibia's Namib desert diamond area, effectively cutting off migration routes for the animals.

However, most of the most telling research on the phenomena of man's interference in animal migration patterns has been done in Botswana, where the effect of the cattle fencing programme has been documented by a number of fearless researchers. Mark and Delia Owens and Douglas and Jane Williamson, who carried out research in the central Kalahari for more than a decade, attributed the death of tens of thousands of wild animals - primarily wildebeest - to the fact that their traditional routes to good water and grazing were stopped by fences. The net effect of Botswana's whole fence programme has been -according to many researchers and conservationists familiar with it- the virtual total eradication of game outside wildlife reserves. Conservationists in the Okavango believe the same will happen there if the fence goes ahead.

Okavango hunter W.W. Phillips - who has hunted in the area for more than thirty years and has first-hand knowledge of its ecology - remarked in his letter to government ministers that he believed the fence "will limit the range of many species and in particular, that breeding cycles and migration routes will be disrupted".

He added: "It will result in reduced wildlife populations to the north of the fenceline and a corresponding overpopulation to the south." Some other conservation assessments predict, however, that for some time at least, there will be population of the area by animals coming from the Caprivi Strip, or by those herds which do go around the northern edge of the fence into Namibia and return to the swamp area for water in the dry season.

The fence, therefore, is aimed more at preventing wild animals from entering what will become cattle zone, than at preventing cattle straying into pristine wildlife areas. It is self-evident that, if the object of the fence was to keep cattle in, then it would not need to be of such strength.

Additionaly, despite claims by the Botswana government that beef from the area in question will not be destined for export to areas like Europe, the control of foot-and-mouth disease appears to be a major motivating factor in the erection of the fence.

In order for foot-and-mouth control to be effective, wild animals which are carriers of the disease will have to be eliminated. This would mean the deaths of unknown numbers of the animals caught on the wrong side of the fence. The eradication would be carried out by citizen hunting, subsistence hunting or by problem animal control teams from the Botswana government.

However, because of the marshy nature of the swamp area, it will be impossible (and this has been admitted by the Botswana government) to erect a fence without gaps. Therefore, buffalo will continue to "infiltrate" the cattle area and continue to be eliminated after the fence has gone up. This is a plain indication that as a foot-and-mouth disease control measure, the fence is ineffective anyway.

3. Degradation or ecological through introduction of a cattle regime:

The rest of present-day Botswana is a graphic illustration of what happens when cattle farming, whether subsistence or otherwise takes over.

Large areas of previously game-rich countryside have been virtually stripped of their wildlife, and desertification has been accelerated through overgrazing.

In the official Botswana government documents relating to the buffalo fence, it is stated that an area of about 1 800 square kilometres will be opened up for cattle, and that at maximum carrying capacity, there is room for an expansion of cattle numbers from the current level of 3 500 to more than 20 000.

While conservationists who have conducted aerial survey of the area believe the cattle population figure is closer to 2 000, they are extremely concerned about the suggestion that more than 20 000 beasts will eventually inhabit the area.

The impact of the increased cattle numbers which would be accompanied by a corresponding increase in the human population would be severe, conservationists believe.

Domestic animals are unable to travel in excess of 24 kilometres (i.e within a radius of 12 km maximum) from the points at which they get water. Wild animals, by comparison, can range much further afield from water in their search for grazing. The limited range of cattle means there will be extensive ecological degradation and accelerated desertification around water points. This will be further exacerbated if further wells are sunk in the cattle area on the other side of the fence.

In the "panhandle" region of the Okavango, where the fence is being erected, the cattle will come to depend entirely on the small, ecologically-fragile wetland area for their survival, particularly in the dry months of the year.

The eastern side of the "panhandle" and the Selinda Spillway area consist of wide, flood plains, with extensive reed vegetation close to the waterways and wooded vegetation on higher ground. The soil is sandy and low in nutrients, and does not have the regenerative capacity to withstand a concentrated onslaught from domestic stock. Grasses in the area have shallow roots and are also vulnerable to trampling and overgrazing.

Examples of the effect of a large-scale influx of cattle in such a sensitive area can clearly be seen on the southern end of the Okavango delta around Maun. Within a year of the erection of the fence, there was a noticeable "chalk and cheese" effect of near-desert conditions on the cattle side, and thriving vegetation on the wild animal side.

Because the land on the eastern side of the pandhandle is so flat, large cattle populations will be able to come right down to the waterline in their

Pushing a "mekoro" (canoe) through the reeds, Okavango Delta. Cattle grazing at the waterline results in destruction of reed beds that causes siltation, erosion and massive disruption to the ecosystem esp. aquatic and bird life.
(Photo: Frans Welman, WIP)

foraging for food (by comparison, a fairly steep bank on the western side prevents domestic stock from making such deep inroads into the wetlands).

Cattle grazing right at the waterline will probably result in large-scale destruction of reed beds through consumption or through trampling. In addition, cattle farming in Botswana adopts the method of frequent burning to stimulate new growth of grass before the rainy season. This would be an additional threat to those reed beds which survive the cattle onslaught.

Destruction of the reed beds could have serious repurcussions, not only for the immediately affected area, but also for the whole of the delta and the communities, like Maun, which are dependent on it downstream.

The reed beds have the effect of slowing down the flow of the Okavango and also of filtering the millions of tons of silt which it brings with it annually in its flow from the Angolan highlands. The result is likely to be increased water velocity and accelerated erosion. The large volumes of silt being transported to the lower reaches of the delta would cause massive disruption to the ecosystem, affecting a broad spectrum of aquatic and bird life. Once the process is under way on the large scale which it threatens to, it is doubtful whether any amount of human intervention could restore the delicate equilibrium of the ecosystem.

One only has to look at the disruptions in recent times of the Everglades in Florida to appreciate the potential for disaster in the Okavango, which has the potential to be a World Heritage Site.

4. Insufficient consultation:

The Botswana government claims that villagers, as well as the local Land Board, and interested parties, were all consulted in a range of **kgotla** (traditional group meeting place where community affairs are conducted) meetings held between 1985 and 1987.

While there is no dispute that these meetings took place, it is open to question whether the rural people were informed in an impartial manner about the pros and cons of the project, and whether they were made aware of the possible wide repurcussions.

As professional hunter W.W. Phillips testifies in his letter to the authorities in Gaborone, at least some of the rural communities to be affected were not fully aware of the wider land use planning scheme for their area. Allegations have also been voiced that government negotiators, if not outright dishonest, were at least misleading in their briefing of the local people.

Claims by the government in Gaborone that they have extensively consulted the people, were also made about the planned project to dredge the Boro River as part of a water extraction scheme.

Press reports of an angry and drawn-out kgotla meeting adressed by Minister Archie Mogwe, show that far from being consulted and showing their approval, many residents of Ngamiland made it plain that they believed the government has misled them, and that they disapproved of the project. There could be a similar situation with regard to the buffalo fence.

CONCLUSION

This project could potentially cripple the whole Okavango ecosystem, one of the world's last wilderness areas.

Any person or agency perceived by the growing international conservation and ecological lobby as being party to the scheme to go ahead in the absence of a proper environmental impact assessment, could suffer a public relations fall-out from which it could take years to recover.

It must be considered imperative that this project be halted immediately, and that all further work should be postponed pending the results of an independent EIA (Environmental Impact Assessment) carried out by credible and impartial experts. The potentially far-reaching effects on game populations which, because of their migratory patterns, are the property of no one single nation, make it crucial that the project also be discussed at length by Botswana's neighbours, Namibia, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Notes:

a. **New African** March 1991:26, **PANOS Mini-features** February 1, 1991.

b. **Unesco Sources** 19, October 1990.

c. West Africa 9-15 October 1989: 1686.

d. M. Collins (ed): **The last rainforests** Gland: IUCN/London: Mitchell Beazley.

e. **West Africa** op. cit., **African Business** August 1990:20.

f. S. Rietbergen "Africa" in D. Poore (ed) 1989: **No timber without trees. Sustainability in the tropical forests** London: Earthscan.

g. J. Vansina 1991: **Paths in the rainforests. Towards a history of political tradition in Equatorial Africa** London: James Currey.

h. M. Collins 1990 op. cit.

i. **INFOE-Studien 6** "Deforestation and the forest peoples of Central Africa" Mönchengladbach: Institut für Ökologie und angewandte Etnologie e.V.

j. The six countries in the study are Cameroon, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Ghana, Liberia (Rietbergen 1989 op. cit.).

k. INFOE-Studien 6 op. cit.

l. L. L. Cavalli-Sforza (ed) 1986: **African Pygmies** Orlando: Academic Press.

m. J. Vansina op. cit.

n. C. Turnbull 1965: **Wayward servants. The two worlds of the African Pygmies** New York: Natural History Press; C. Turnbull 1976: **The forest people** London: Picador; C. Turnbull 1983: **The Mbuti pygmies. Change and adaptation** New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

o. Vansina, op. cit.

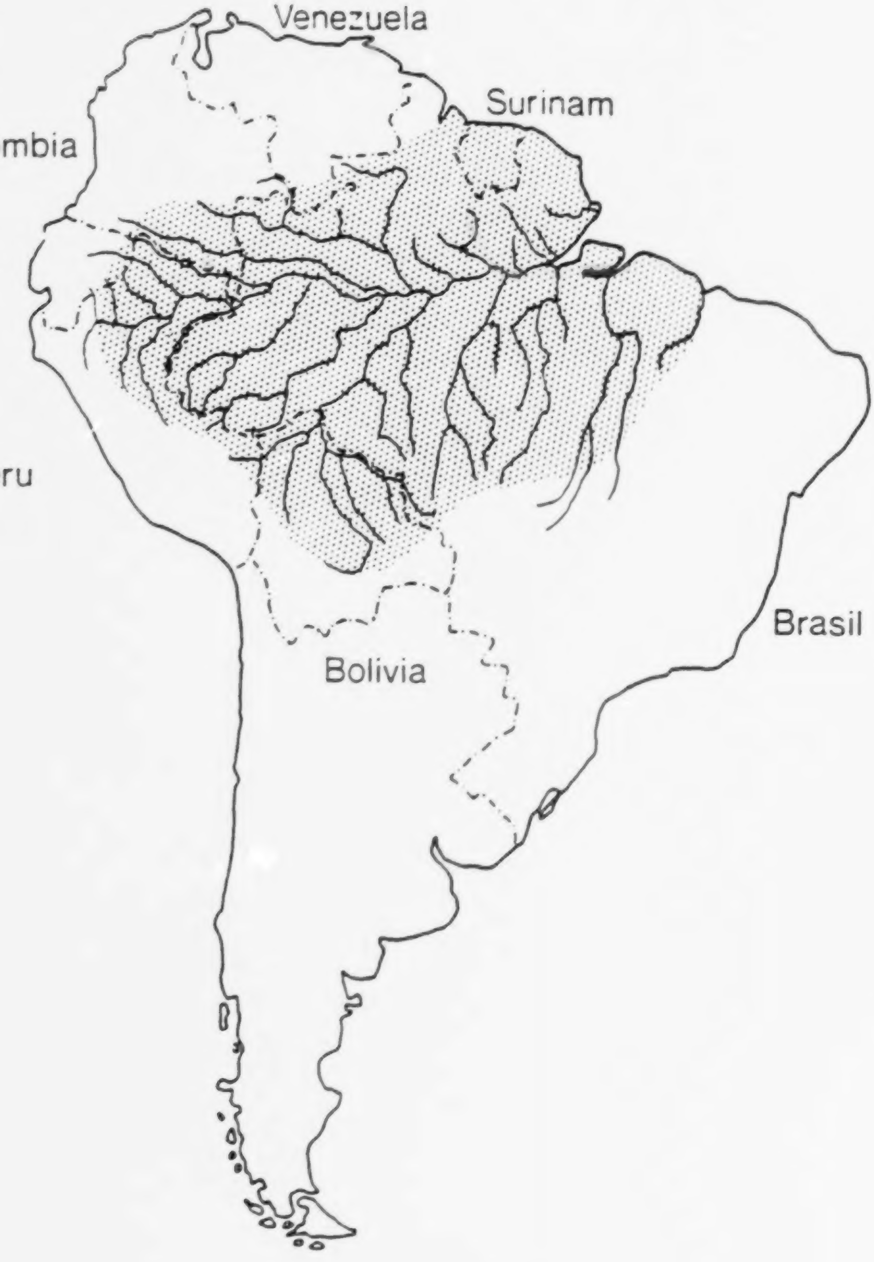
p. Turnbull op. cit., E. Wæhle 1989: **Elusive persistence. Efe (Mbuti Pygmy) autonomy strategies in the Ituri forest, Zaïre**, unpublished magister artium thesis, Inst. of Social anthropology, University of Oslo; E Wæhle 1986: Efe (Mbuti pygmy) relations to Lese Dese villagers in the Ituri Forest: Historical changes during the last 150 years **Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika**, 7.2.

q. E. Wæhle op. cit.

r. Sidle, J. G. & D. Lawson 1986: **Proposal for the establishment of the Okapi National Park in the Haut-Zaire region, Republic of Zaire** Submitted to the Institut Zairois pour la conservation de la nature, Gland: WWF. Wilkie, D. S. 1989: **Human settlement and forest composition within the proposed Okapi rain forest reserve in northeastern Zaire** Salt Lake City: Dept. of Anthropology/University of Utah.

s. Lewis, D. 1990: National parks: Conflicts of interest **Geographical** LXII, 12

Map of the Amazon



To the International Community:

The C.O.I.C.A. For the Future of the Amazon

by Evaristo Nugkuag

Amazonian reality and anti-Amazonian Policies

The recently proclaimed "Law for Amazonian Development" in Peru, Brazil's announcement of a new program for "Our Natural Environment" after two decades of burning down the Amazon, the meeting of the President of the Amazon countries in Manaus to review Amazonian development policies, and the rapid expansion of coca leaf production and drug trafficking are but a part of the overall context in which both politicians and the public are becoming increasingly concerned about the impact of the conquest and development of the Amazon Basin.

Evaristo Nugkuag, President of COICA, the Coordinadora for Indigenous organizations of the Amazon Basin. (Photo: IWGIA archives)

We must analyze closely and critically the economic and social policies and practices of the Amazonian countries if we are to avoid a major human disaster. We propose to do that here, from the point of view of the indigenous inhabitants of the Amazon. This means first of all that we must take into account the long-term interests of the indigenous peoples of the Amazon, because our number one priority is guaranteeing the conservation and reproduction of the natural resources needed for the future life and well-being of our peoples, and that in the broad sense, means for **all** Amazonians peoples. However, this is not to say that we do not share the concern for the well-being of the national societies as a whole, or in the development of the countries of which we, as indigenous peoples, are citizens.

All of the Amazonian countries have made preposterous claims that the great empty Amazon jungle can finance national development, it can provide an alternative for overcoming historical structural problems, and it can become the countries' breadbasket. These flippant and irresponsible claims, which have been the basis for development policies for over three decades, are of great concern for us, not only because of their disastrous consequences for our indigenous peoples, but also for the threat they pose to the very future of the entire Basin.

The Amazon Coordinating Body

The Coordinating Body of the Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin (COICA) was founded in Lima on 26 March 1984. The Coordinating Body is an organization created by the national Indian organizations of each Amazonian country to strengthen the ties between us, to share our experiences, and to join together in the defense of our rights and of the Amazon Basin, our homeland. The following organizations are members of the Coordinating Body:

1. The Inter-Ethnic Association for Development of the Peruvian Jungle (AIDESEP) which brings together 21 regional organizations representing 60 indigenous peoples with a total population of 300 000.
2. The Central of Indigenous Communities and People of Eastern Bolivia (CIDOB) an association of 9 regional organizations representing 41 indigenous peoples with a total population of 300 000.
3. The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuadorian Amazonia (CONFENIAE)), made up of 9 organizations representing 8 indigenous peoples with a population of 150 000.
4. The Union of Indigenous Nations of Brazil (UNI) which brings together over 150 different peoples with a population of 300 000.
5. The National Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Colombia (ONIC) which represents 170 peoples with a population of 150 000.

During the first three encounters of the Coordinating Body, the General Assembly agreed on the following objectives for the Coordinating Body:

- To represent the point of view of the member organizations in international meetings and fora with representatives of governmental and intergovernmental bodies, and of non-governmental organizations.

- To foster the unity and mutual cooperation of all indigenous peoples.
- To promote the indigenous cultural values through a process of autonomous development within each country, through such programs as intercultural bilingual education and health programs, respecting the autonomy and the particular customs of each local organization and peoples.
- To incorporate those indigenous peoples in the process of organizing themselves who may wish to join.

The impact of Development on Indigenous Peoples

In order to analyze the impact of the economic policies and practices in the Amazon, we must begin by explaining how we understand "development". There are many different ways to understand and to measure development. We indigenous peoples have long had many different development models imposed on us and our territories by both the State and the private sector, and we have suffered enormously. You see, we do have some experience to speak from.

We believe that there can be development only when the well-being of the entire population involved is improved; there is no development when only a few are benefited at the expense of the majority. That is why we cannot speak of development in the Amazon region when such policies usurp the land and resources of its ancestral inhabitants, nor when hundreds of thousands of poor peasants from other regions are irresponsibly pushed into the Amazon in search of land and livelihood. There can be development only when the benefits created go to the local people, but not when the fruits of the development flow towards the centers of economic power, whether they be national or international.

Development can occur only when the population it affects participates in the design of the proposed policies and the model which is implemented thereby corresponds to the aspirations of the local population. Development can be guaranteed to the people only when the foundations are laid for sustained well-being of the region; only continued poverty can be guaranteed when the policies lead to pillage and destruction of the local resources by those coming from outside.

The indigenous peoples of the Amazon have always lived there; the Amazon is our home. We know its secrets well, both what it can offer us and what its limits are. For us, there can be no life if our forests are destroyed. We want to continue living in our homeland. We have no interest in taking everything the forests has to offer and moving to the city to live in material comfort from the profits of our plunder. We become very angry and indignant when we hear Peru's President Garcia ask what the fuss is over a few trees, which is nothing compared to the bomb dropped on Hiroshima or the oil spilled on the Alaska coastline.

We are not talking about a few trees; we are talking about 250 000 to 300 000 hectares a year which go up in smoke in the Peruvian Amazon alone.

The reality of this disaster is all the more serious for us indigenous peoples because we live there. This disaster has meant impoverishment for our people, regardless of whether or not we now wear shirts and pants. Our very own sources of nourishment have been reduced dramatically as we exchange fresh fish for noodles, and wild game for white rice. Millions of hectares have already been destroyed: 12% of the Amazon is deforested and it is estimated that 20 million acres of virgin forest are annually deforested in the region.

At last serious studies are being undertaken on the long term effects of this massive deforestation. One example are the changing water levels in the major rivers. The incidence of major flooding along the Ucayali valley in Peru has increased with the deforestation of the eastern slopes of the Andes. The *Quichua* people along the Napo river complain of increased flooding; they continue to suffer from the effects of the floods, especially the loss of fish in the river. These changes are not a product of nature's whims, but as a direct result of the massive deforestation taking place for African oil palm plantations in Ecuador.

In the conquest of the Amazon Basin, extreme forms of violence have always been present. Ever since the first Spanish forays in the 16th century, the many attempts to conquer and settle the Amazon have resulted in millions of deaths for indigenous peoples, because of disease, slavery, and direct confrontation. Much of the Amazon continues to be "beyond the Law", where a fierce racism and contempt for indigenous peoples makes them easy targets for all sorts of crimes. These crimes are so commonplace they rarely make the newspapers. In one case which did make it to the papers in Colombia, we learned that the assassins of a group of indigenous peoples told the judge that they didn't know it was a crime to kill an Indian. In our communities, there are all kinds of murders, not just the massacres which make it to the newspapers.

The Amazon is not a great empty expanse, though it is being emptied of its indigenous population with the decimation of as many as 6 million of its original inhabitants; 6 million Indians who lived in the Amazon before we knew about development. The Amazon is empty for those who don't want to see us, for those who continue to think it is a great act of pioneering heroism to clear us from our territories, dead or alive.

Slavery: Alive and Well in the Amazon

For those who think we are referring to the Far West, or to ancient history, we want to remind you that AIDESEP of Peru denounced before the world in 1986, the terrible situation of the *Ashaninka* people in Atalaya. To this day, hundreds of families are kept as slaves on farms or sent to cut timber, with no pay, no food, but with armed guards. Young girls are kept captive in the landlord's house to service him at his will. Both young and old are mutilated and beaten for trying to escape. Tuberculosis is rampant. The local authorities

An aerial view of an illegal prospectors' landing strip in the upper Mucajai River, Roraima, an example of Amazonian development.
(Photo: Charles Vincent/CEDI-CCPY)

know this is going on, but they close their eyes, because, in their own words, if the landlords had to pay for the labour, the local economy would collapse. The local forestry officials know that the lumber which is sent out of the area is cut by slave labour.

Last year, after several visits, the central government agreed to form a High Level Commission, to deal with the situation, and even managed to frighten a few of the landlords. However after a few months of inaction, the latter realized that the state would do nothing, and they clamped down even harder on their Indian slaves. This is how indigenous people are integrated into development. This is the price we must pay for Amazonian development.

Surely this is what makes the Amazon exotic, not the hundreds of indigenous peoples who are trying to maintain what is left of our culture and our dignity. No, what is exotic in our countries is the slavery that still exists at the end of the twentieth century, the crushing poverty, the disdain for our rights, the shrug of the shoulders for those who, over a cow, kill 17 *Tikunas* along the Brazilian Solimoes, or blind a young Ashaninka, Grimaldo Pintayo with machete blows. These exotic aspects of our life are created by those very gentlemen whose votes, surely, will benefit the politicians who, from luxurious hotels in Europe or from their ocean-front mansions, try to convince the world that our identity and our millenarian culture are the obstacles which block the development of our peoples.

The resulting struggle among poor people over each millimeter of land in our impoverished Amazon, carefully manipulated by large interest groups, generates violence. And our forest today is the land of violence. Poverty, corruption, injustice, and lack of the most basic security all generate violence. That is why the Amazon is so violent today.

The Violence of Development

To give you an idea what the impact of Amazonian development is from our point of view, look at the incident that happened recently in the Bolivian Chimore. A young *Yuki*, member of a little contacted group of Indians, shot an arrow at a colonist. The newspapers played up the savagery of the attack and called on evangelical missionaries to civilize the Yuki. But there was no mention of the fact that a few days before, when a group of Yukis were hunting in their traditional hunting reserves, colonists carrying government issued land certificates along with their guns, took the lives of 11 Yukis and later hung their bodies to make sure others did not return. In this way, the colonist incorporated more empty Amazonian territory for development. Could it be that the Yukis stood in the way of development?

Over the past 5 years, the *Aguaruna* community of Chamikar on the Maranon River of northern Peru, has been defending its territory from an invasion of settlers and merchants. And in response, the Peruvian authorities jailed the leaders of the Community. Just recently, on 8 June, members of the *Chayahuita* community of Estrella (Peru) who were trying to recover their lands, were repressed by force and accused of being invaders. In the face of

*Photo of an **Indian youth practising** with the bow and arrow **recalls** the recent incident at Chimore of developmental violence against the Yukis: an arrow attack at a colonist blown out of proportion with no mention of 11 Yukis murdered by colonists. (Photo: IWGIA archives)*

such injustice, how can we expect to behave? With patience? We are told to go to court, and we do. But we are Indians and the system of justice is not so blind that it cannot see this. Only once, the Aguaruna won a court case, after tremendous expense in money and time. This was in the community of Tsun-tsuntsa, also on the Maranon River. The day after the court made its decision, the settlers surrounded these Aguaruna and killed the elder chief, Chu Nugkag Kit. Who do you think was jailed? None other than the indigenous peoples of the community. No one else. An investigation of this crime would have been interesting since the bullet which killed the chief was military issue.

Violence of this type does not simply spring into existence on its own. It is generated out of social conditions. Who created the violence which comes with the drug trade? Indigenous peoples? The peasants who begin to cultivate coca leaf because no one will buy their meager rice crop? The politicians continue dreaming about developing the Amazon, they continue confronting us poor people against each other, and they keep blaming us for the violence on the Amazon frontier.

One of the common myths about these conditions of violence and abuse is that they are the cost of civilization, and that national development calls for the integration of indigenous peoples who need to be taught to be productive. And when indigenous peoples do not want to be productive on the terms established by that "civilization", we are told to get out of the way.

We are told: you have no right to own any land if you don't know how to produce. If we are so unproductive, why then do so many settlers and landlords employ us to clear the forests for their pastures, to cut lumber, and to gather rubber and brazil nuts? Is this not straightforward colonialism? A very high-level official of Amazonian Development in Peru once stated that, if the Indians couldn't make a living from agriculture on the tiny amount of agricultural lands the State was willing to cede to them, they should urbanize their communities and live on the industry and commerce which naturally develop in urban areas. These myths, these stereotypes, and this abuse is part of our everyday life.

More Myths of Underdevelopment

During millennia, indigenous societies have developed a thorough knowledge of the forest and how to live within it. So that long before modern scientists began studying the Amazon and "discovered" the need to use the forest in a rational and sustained way, we already practiced this. Yet many people, those with more prejudice than knowledge, want to blame us for destroying the forest. They say that we clear and plant land only to abandon it after a year or two. In fact, we manage our clearings in such a way that when they no longer produce annual crops, we introduce other plants and trees which we can use for several more years, until the clearing is completely overgrown. Ecologists who have begun studying our productive systems were amazed to find practices for enriching the forest with certain plants which they had assumed were wild. Unfortunately these practices are disappearing in many areas because of the pressures to produce crops for the market.

For those who come to the Amazon with the idea of conquering it and exploiting its resources, the forest is seen as an enemy of civilization, as a wild and savage scourge which must be felled and destroyed in order to produce any wealth. But if we compare the 25 kiloes of meat produced in one hectare of forest converted to cattle pasture, with the nutritional value of the animals, birds, grubs, and plants produced by the same hectare of forest, we begin to see that the forest is not an enemy. It can be a very productive ally. Many serious studies have demonstrated that not only is the current conquest of the Amazon foolish and shortsighted in ecological terms, but also in terms of the economic results which are produced. And yet, the governments of the Amazonian countries continue to insist on repeating such experience despite their proven failures.

In his enthusiasm for conquering the Amazon, President Belaunde (Peru 1963-68;1980-85) estimated that for each kilometre of road which his administrations built in the Peruvian Amazon, between 400 and 1 000 hectares would be incorporated into productive activity benefiting the nation. We wish that were true, for it it were, we would have more than enough food to feed the entire country. But what we see along these "penetration" roads are wasted pasturelands, burned-over forest, and denuded hills, and desperately poor peasants. Look at any of the roads into the forest: the new route between Chanchamayo and Satipo in Peru, the road to Lago Agrio-Coca in Ecuador, BR364 in Rondonia, Brazil, the road into the Bolivian Beni. Road building is no guarantee of development. In fact it is dangerous to allow roads to guide and define Amazonian development. It is estimated that of the five million hectares that have been destroyed along the eastern slopes of the Andes, only between 20% and 30% are still under production.

And have the costly colonization projects fared better? The experience throughout the Amazon, especially in Brazil, have shown us that they haven't produced better results. The Special Projects for Jungle Development, created by the second Belaunde administration, were supposed to have incorporated vast areas for settlement, to have increased national food production, and to have improved the quality of life of the rural population. The results were predictably disappointing. Even more so if we compared the results of the massive investments in these projects with the amounts of foreign debt incurred to finance them. By 1987, almost US $ 500 million was invested in the Special Projects in Peru; of this, approximately US $ 235 was borrowed from foreign lenders. Even more alarming is the fact that much of this investment and foreign debt ended up benefiting the production and traffic of cocaine!

Drug Production and Trafficking

Between 1974 and 1980, the cultivation of coca grew in Peru by 3 437 %. In 1988, the journal *Actualidad Economica* estimated that between 200 000 and 250 000 hectares of forest land were planted in coca. The magazine *Que Hacer* estimated that the Alto Huallaga valley alone produced enough raw material to manufacture 55% of the cocaine consumed in the world. Add to that list, the Chapare valley and the Bene lowlands in Bolivia, much of eastern Colombia, and growing areas of Brazil, and the size of the problem becomes evident.

The growth of coca leaf cultivation is basically an economic phenomenon. Small farmers in the Amazon receive virtually no support from central governments; and the prices they receive for their products, given the costs of transporting them to markets and the government policies keeping food prices low, keep them in continual debt and poverty. Even in relatively successful areas of settlement like the Alto Mayo valley in Peru where paddy rice was introduced by the Special Project, production costs have for many years outstripped the market value of the crop. There are not any real options left, particularly when the lands obtained, after their initial production spurt ends, often cannot be used for any crop other than coca.

The Lumber industry: Our Forests Cut and Dried

The exploitation of the timber is not going much better. On the one hand most of the timber reserves are burned. When vast areas are felled for cattle ranching or other monocropping, millions of cubic feet of wood are burned and wasted. In 1978, Peruvian forestry expert G. Malleaux estimated that

In Peru, laws regulating forest extraction, establishes that the forestry tax be invested in reforestation but attempts do not go beyond a few experimental plots. (Photo: IWGIA archives)

only 6% of the timber felled in Peru reached the market at all. The misuse of the timber resources is growing along with the clearing of the Amazon. In 1988, in the Brazilian state of Acre, local authorities had to close down the airport in Rio Branco, the capital city, because the haze of smoke from the burning forest reduced visibility to such an extent that planes could not land.

Forest extraction, although regulated by laws in each of the Amazonian countries, finds a thousand ways of escaping control. In Peru, the law establishes that the forestry tax should be invested in reforestation. However, the areas reforested rarely go beyond the few experimental plots established to demonstrate the government's commitment to forest management. Little attempt is made to introduce forest management techniques, nor to maintain National Forest Reserves, nor to keep settlers out of logging areas. Under this system of forest use, the lumber ceases to be a renewable resource. The lumber industry is currently in crisis in part because it has exhausted the more readily available forests, and because it has shown no interest in developing new products that would use a larger variety of forest species.

The failure of Amazonian development policies is also reflected in the extraordinary growth of its urbans slums. In many areas, colonization projects are just a point of passage into the slums of nearby urban areas, a place where the victims of this great myth of Amazon development look for a way to survive. Rondonia Brazil is a case in point. With the paving of BR364, settlers flooded into the area from all over Brazil; by 1984, population growth in the state was an unheard of 15%. But the growth rate of the few

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

urban centres is even more staggering. Porto Velho, a sleepy river town just 20 years ago, is now a teeming commercial center of half a million; Rolim de Moura, founded 13 years ago in the middle of the principal colonization area, is now a city of 120 000.

In Iquitos, Peru, a center of the rubber boom a century ago, there are currently over 30 slums and about 15 new outlying settlements that haven't even reached the status of slum. It is estimated that over 70% of Iquitos' population live in these marginal areas. Pucallpa, along the Ucayali River in Peru, does not fall far behind, with 21 shanty towns around its perimeter, and Puerto Maldonado, despite all the gold extracted from the Madre de Dios River, is surrounded by 20 shanty towns where disillusioned colonists, gold diggers, and others who believed in the Amazonian myth live in misery. While all of these cities are supplied with some locally produced crops, by far the major portion of the food is imported from areas of the country outside of the Amazon, and from Europe and the USA. The freight charges for this imported food make the cost of living in these Amazonian urban areas among the highest in Latin America. Isn't this absurd? Is this sustainable development?

Indigenous Peoples and The Environmental Movement

In recent years, some sectors of the industrialized countries have developed a consciousness of environmental issues regarding Amazonian development, while scientists have sounded the alarm about the future of the Amazon ecology and the impact this will have for the entire global system. Through pressure from these growing environmental movements, the institutions which fund Amazonian development are changing their outlook and urging the Amazonian countries to introduce to their development programs more safeguards for the environment and for indigenous peoples. These changes are, to a large extent, the result of the clamour raised by the organizations of indigenous peoples who are members of the Coordinating Body, together with the organizations representing environmentalists and the more environmentally sensitive public opinion. With the possibility of environmental disasters of such magnitude, we can no longer keep our eyes closed.

The irony of this is that we have been raising this clamour with our own government for decades, but we had to wait until it was said in English, and coming from the north, before it was listened to. Our governments do not usually hear when indigenous peoples speak.

However, during the past few months, the Amazonian countries headed by Brazil, have reacted to this pressure with a certain amount of Amazonian jingoism. First there was a meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Quito, and then a meeting of the Presidents in Manaus, to discuss the criticisms of Amazonian development; the joint declarations which came out of these gatherings charged the critics, and even the funding institutions of Europe and the United States with intervening in the internal affairs of sovereign countries and of seeking to internationalize the Amazon Basin.

These declarations point out that Europe and the United States

Amazonian forest dweller fishing traditionally with the spear and the curare; it is possible to develop without destroying the environment according to COICA.
(Photo: ILO)

destroyed their forests and altered their natural environment in order to develop their economies and now, when the countries of the Amazon Pact want to do the same, they protest. But that misses the point. If Europe and North America destroyed their forests and environment, that's no excuse for our countries doing the same. If other regions developed by destroying their environment, then we must accept the challenge and find a new kind of development which does not destroy the environment. We believe it is both necessary and possible to accomplish this.

We also wonder how sincere these nationalistic arguments could be. In the first place, we've watched our governments hand out the most important resources of the region to transnational corporations, in some cases in exchange for the foreign debt. This is the case of the minerals, lumber, and even large cattle ranches in Brazil, and the oil in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. The recent campaign against the expansion of African oil palm plantations in Ecuador revealed that most of the capital behind the enterprise was British and German. These transnational corporations and fraudulent "national" companies, which hide foreign capital, receive government protection and support to act against the interests of the population of the Amazon, that is against the interests of the indigenous peoples, the rubber tappers, the river dwellers, and the poor settlers. But in the long run, this is not in the national interests of our countries because the destruction of the Amazon will leave the future generations of Bolivians, Brazilians, Colombians, Peruvians, Venezuelans, and Surinamese with an impoverished natural environment and an impoverished economy. The "nationalistic" arguments which we have heard from our governments in defense of their development policies are not truly nationalistic, but rather a cover for surrendering Amazonian resources to foreign corporations.

But clearly these jingoistic arguments are not being aimed at the large corporations exploiting the Amazon's resources nor at the governments of the industrialized countries; this rhetoric is aimed at us, the indigenous peoples, and our allies, who have been winning world public opinion in favour of our ancestral rights and in favour of development policies which care for, and use the Amazonian resources wisely.

Treaty for Amazonian Cooperation

The Treaty for Amazonian Cooperation could well be an important international instrument for indigenous peoples and their organizations. That is why we are interested in looking closely and critically at this Treaty and finding ways to resolve its own contradictions. We believe that this Treaty must state clearly what kind of future it proposes for the region and its peoples. So far, from what we see, the declarations made in the Treaty seems to go in one direction, while the actions taken by the governments go in another. Given the realities of Amazonian development, this should come as no surprise.

The Declaration of the Amazon Pact Chancellors meeting in Quito earlier this year recognizes the fragility of the Amazonian Biosphere, and speaks of the need to develop the region in ways which are in keeping with the ecosystem. The Pact agreed to establish a Special Commision on the Environment whose objective is to ensure that development plans do not destroy the environment. We applaud these new developments. However, the same declaration, without any explanation, underlines the importance of research on how to expand the plantations of African oil palm. How could the Chancellor speak out in defense of the Amazonian ecosystem, and ignore the ecological and social impact which the African oil palm plantations have had in Ecuador?

The Quito meeting also established a Special Commission on Matters Concerning Indigenous Peoples. The stated objective of this Commission is to strengthen indigenous identity, and to guarantee our participation in determining the future development of the Amazon. In establishing this Commission, the Chancellors stressed the need to officially recognize our cultures. Again, such a step is very positive. Now the next step must be to incorporate the COICA onto this Commission as well as onto other commissions dealing with matters affecting Indigenous Peoples.

The Indigenous Peoples Perspective on Our Autonomous Development

Faced with a continuous dispossession of our resources, an ongoing invasion and loss of our territories, the growing pillage of our forests, and the systematic and intentional disintegration of our cultures and ways of life, we are now asked to provide the industrial world which has colonized us, with development alternatives. Under these conditions, our obligation to our people, to our children, as well as to our land, rivers, and forest is to struggle to halt this destruction. We have had little spare time during the past 500 years to think about development.

If you want to know what development means to us, you must be willing to accept that our mode of development is not the same as yours. Many development agents have come into our villages, and inspired by what you call White Man's burden, say to us: "Soon, you will be able to give us your miserable huts and live in tin-roofed houses." But we like our houses. Our architecture is the result of generations of experimentation and adaptation to the heat and rain of the Amazon. For us, tin roofs, while perhaps a symbol of economic wealth and success, turn out houses into ovens. Even the chickens suffer from heat exhaustation when we put tin roofs on their coops.

Our development is not based on accumulation of material goods, nor on the greatest rates of profit, obtained at the expense of our territories and future generations. Our development is not based on small individual land holders, who tremble with each rise or fall of the market prices. For us development must take into account the well-being of our entire community or group; it must take into account the future, not just of a government which only lasts for 5 years, but of an entire people, who have existed from the beginning of time, and who, ever since that sad date of 1492, have

Indigenous peoples have had 500 years to think about development, and their mode of development is different from that of the western developed world. Campa mother and child in front of traditional huts best adapted to the heat and rain of the Amazon. (Photo: IWGIA archives)

resisted the conquest and colonization led by other people, who calling themselves Peruvian or Brazilian or Colombian, only demonstrate their contempt for us. Our development aims to share, not to dominate and accumulate. For us development would allow us to maintain our own world, and not force us to exchange it for a slum in Manaus or Santa Cruz. Development for us is definitely very different.

The key to development for us is an extensive, diversified, and integral territory where all its occupants, people, animals, trees, and rivers, will share the benefits. With the peace of mind that would come from an end of hostilities against us and our territories, we could begin to concentrate on our own development. We could begin to teach you about development. Our development is our own territory, safe from invasion and threat, and respect for our rights to conduct our activities in an autonomous way. Yes, we have the right to demand resources from the state for our health, our education, and our economic development. We are not going to forfeit these rights. But our development demands that those resources be placed under our own direct responsibility and in agreement with our own interests.

In general terms, COICA and its member organizations believe that development must begin with self-sufficiency, which is the key to autonomy. Our development must emphasize our capacity to feed ourselves- you call it subsistence farming- and to satisfy the material needs of all our people. When we are able to do this, then we can begin to look towards the market and learn how to deal with it without destroying our territories. Market-oriented economic activity which destroys the integrity of the forest, its diversity and balance, is not development. We were taught by missionaries and development workers to raise cattle. But we are beginning to realize that we made a poor deal: we sacrificed thousands of useful and potentially useful species just to feed a cow. Why can't you understand that the Amazon's wealth lies in its forests; that is what gives life to all of us. How is it possible that national legislatures have given away millions of hectares of Amazonian forests to be burned over for cattle raising, while at the same time, they complain that the thousands of hectares which we have fought for are too much.

A few months ago, the President of Colombia, Virgilio Barco, handed over to the *Huitoto* and Bora title to the huge Putumayo Estate, which once belonged to the notorious Arana rubber barons. His words at that occasion indicate that he has some measure of understanding of what development of the Amazon should really be about. After saying that land and Indigenous Peoples belong to each other, he indicated that the degree to which the Amazon could be protected was in direct relation to the degree of control over the Amazon which is in the hands of Indigenous Peoples; that no other measure would produce the same degree of protection, and as a result, if what the Amazonian states really wanted was to foment the rational use of the Amazon, they should begin putting an end to colonization. Yes, they are only the words of a politician, but even just a decade ago, we would never have heard a politician say such things.

Another president, this time in Peru, stated recently in a gathering of indigenous peoples that we were here long before the Garcias and the Perezes, and that he didn't understand why it is that the newcomers are the ones who legalize the ancestral property of the indigenous inhabitants of this land. It should be the indigenous inhabitants, he said, who legitimize the governing officials. Well, we do not legitimace any government at all, past, present, or future, in any of the Amazonian countries, as long as they do not recognize that we are the original peoples in this land and that justice demands a re-composition of our territories. That's where development begins for us Indigenous Peoples, who have deeper roots than anyone in this land, the true nationals and aboriginal inhabitants of our America.

Our Agenda for the Bilateral and Multilateral Funders of Amazon Development:

World Bank, Interamerican Development Bank, US Agency for International Development, European Economic Community

We, the Indigenous Peoples, have been an integral part of the Amazon Biosphere for millennia. We have used and cared for the resources of that biosphere with a great deal of respect, because it is our home, and because we know that our survival and that of our future generations depends on it. Our accumulated knowledge about the ecology of our home, our models for living with the peculiarities of the Amazon Biosphere, our reverence and respect for the tropical forest and its other inhabitants, both plant and animal, are the keys to guaranteeing the future of the Amazon Basin, not only for our peoples, but also for all of humanity.

A. What the COICA wants:

1. The most effective defense of the Amazonian Biosphere is the recognition and defense of the territories of the region's Indigenous Peoples and the promotion of their models for living within that Biosphere and for managing its resources in a sustainable way. The international funders of Amazonian development should educate themselves about the Indigenous People's relationship with their environment, and formulate new concepts of Amazonian development together with new criteria for supporting Amazonian development projects which would be compatible with the Indigenous Peoples' principles of respect and care for the world around them, as well as with their concern for the survival and well-being of their future generations.

2. The international funders must recognize the rights of Indigenous Peoples as these are being defined within the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, established by the UN Human Rights Commission. These rights should form the basis of the institution's policy towards the Indigenous Peoples and their territories, who live in those areas where the funder is supporting development work. The funders should consult directly with the organizations of the Indigenous Peoples throughout the process of establishing this policy and should distribute that policy widely among governments and the organizations of Indigenous Peoples.

3. There can be no development projects in indigenous areas without the informed consent of the Indigenous Peoples affected. The funders must make every effort, through field research conducted by personnel of the funding institution, to verify the existence of indigenous populations, or the possible negative impact on an indigenous population, in areas where they are

considering the implementation of a project. If either is the case, the funder must openly recognize the existence of this population, or the negative impact on them, and then should establish as a condition for further funding the project:

- that the government responsible for implementing the project also recognize the existence of the population and/or the negative impact;
- that the affected population be informed of the plans; and
- that the affected population consent to the implementation of the plans.

These conditions should be monitored by both the funder and the organization which represents the affected population.

4. If the indigenous population has given its informed consent to the implementation of a development project within its territory, the project must be designed in such a way that it respects the territories of the population as they define them, their economy and their social organization, according to the institutional policy as described in Point One. There should be special components of the project which lend support directly to the indigenous population for their own needs and for the development proposals which they may have. The organization which represents the affected population should participate in the design of the project.

5. The international funders should enter into a direct relation of collaboration and mutual respect with the organizations of Indigenous Peoples, through their representatives. This relation should establish the basis for:

- consultations on all aspects of projects implemented in areas with an indigenous population or which have an impact on an indigenous population;
- participation of representatives of Indigenous Peoples in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of projects;
- exchange of information of mutual interest on plans, projects, activities, and needs of both.

B. How the COICA Proposes Implementing this Agenda:

1. Each funding agency should establish written accords with the Coordinating Body at the international level, and with each member organization of the Coordinating Body at the national level. These written accords should specify the conditions and objectives of the relation based on collaboration and mutual respect.

2. The representative from the headquarters of the funder should meet with the representatives of the Coordinating Body at least once a year, in order to monitor the implementation of the accords and of the institution's policy on Indigenous Peoples. This meeting could take place at the headquarters of either the funder or of the Coordinating Body.

3. The resident representatives of the funder (country mission director, area representative, etc.) should meet periodically with the representatives of the member organizations of Coordinating Body in order to make the necessary consultations, to exchange information, and to monitor the implementation of the accords.

4. In the event that projects be proposed for an area in which there are indications of the existence of an indigenous population, or if there is reason to suspect that the project may have an impact on an indigenous population, the Coordinating Body recommends establishing the following procedures:

- As a first step, the funder, through personnel hired by the funder, should verify in the field the existence of an indigenous population in the project area, and the possible impact of the proposed project on that population; during this verification process, the researcher should consult directly with the Coordinating Body and with the member organization within the country in question.
- If it is determined that the proposed project will affect an indigenous population, a Tripartite Commission should be formed with a representative of the funder, the government, and the Coordinating Body through its local representative (including a representative of the local organization which directly represents the affected population, if such an organization exists).
- This Tripartite Commission should have the following functions:
  - inform the affected population of the development plans and determine if that population consents to the Plans;
  - determine if the proposed project represents a threat to the indigenous population and make recommendations about how to proceed;
  - determine what the priorities of the affected population are, and make recommendations about how to best meet the priority needs;
  - design the project component for the indigenous population, participate in the overall design of the project, and monitor the implementation of the project;
  - design and implement a permanent evaluation of the impact of the project on the indigenous population.

Indigenous Peoples' Alternatives for Amazonian development

An important task of the Coordinating Body is to present to the international community the alternatives which we indigenous peoples offer for living with the Amazonian biosphere, caring for it and developing within it. This is one of our important contributions to a better life for humankind. The following represent, in general terms, Our Program for the Defense of the Amazonian Biosphere.

1. **The best defense of the Amazonian Biosphere is the defense of the territories recognized as homeland by Indigenous peoples, and the promotion of our models for living within that biosphere and for managing its resources.** This implies:

- education for the national and international communities regarding the indigenous peoples' concept of the unity between people and territory, and regarding our models for managing and caring for our environment.
- work with national governments, environmental organizations, and international institutions which fund Amazon development to develop new concepts and models for occupying and using the Amazon Basin in keeping with our long-term perspective (future generations), our respect for the interdependence between humankind and our environments, and our need to improve the well-being of the entire community; further work with the same institutions to translate these new concepts into concrete programs for developing and caring for the Amazon Basin and its inhabitants.
- research on the natural resources and traditional crops used by indigenous peoples, on the traditional systems for utilizing and conserving resources, and on models for the extraction of renewable resources.
- evaluation and systematization of the development projects implemented by indigenous peoples which attempt to combine the demands of the market economy with a respect for indigenous principles of development.

2. **The defense of the Amazon Biosphere/Indigenous territories must go hand in hand with the recognition of, and respect for the territorial, political, cultural, economic, and human rights of the Indigenous Peoples.** This implies:

- continued participation and support for the UN process for establishing an international instrument recognizing the rights of Indigenous Peoples.
- education for the national and international communities regarding the rights of Indigenous Peoples.
- establishment of mechanisms at both the national and international level for defending the rights of Indigenous Peoples in cases of violations of, or conflicts over those rights.

3. **The right of self-determination for indigenous peoples within their environment/territory is fundamental for guaranteeing the well-being of the Indigenous Population and of the Amazonian biosphere.** This implies:

- respect for our autonomous forms of community, ethnic, and regional government.
- indigenous control over the economic activities within the indigenous territories, including the extraction of mineral reserves.
- respect for indigenous customary law and the indigenous norms for social control.

4. Concrete Proposals for International Cooperation:

For many decades now, most of our people have been experimenting with ways to participate in the encroaching market economies of our respective countries, while trying to survive as peoples intimately linked to the Amazonian forest. We have done this despite the hostility shown us by the frontier society, and despite the fact that, within the context of the market economy, we are desperately poor. For these reasons, we have organized ourselves in new ways, and developed and managed a variety of small programs to improve our health, education, and economy. The following is a brief listing which suggests the kinds of programs which we are currently undertaking or wish to undertake. It is these small-scale, locally controlled initiatives which should be the cornerstone of future Amazonian development.

- ***Programs for Territorial Demarcation and Defense***
  including research on territorial composition, land use patterns, soil and forest classifications; demarcation of territories; titling and registration of territories; training of para-legals, topographers; relocation of settlers and miners squatting on indigenous territories; recuperation of lands illegally taken; the establishment of complimentary forest reserves, wildlife reserves, national parks and joint programs to manage them.

- ***Programs for Resource Management***
  including research on land use capabilities, soil quality, inventories of flora, fauna, and mineral reserves, indigenous management practices; training in research methodology; projects for managing forests through sustainable harvesting practices; projects for improving the productivity of rubber, Brazil nut, and other extractive activities; projects for recovering lands and resources devastated by conquest and colonization.

- ***Programs to Strengthen Material Self-Sufficiency***
  including research on traditional crops, foods gathered from the forest, farming practices, hunting and fishing technologies; projects for improving productivity, stability, and diversity of traditional farming systems; projects to introduce or improve small animal husbandry; projects to manage food resources found in the forest; projects to replenish and manage flora used for housing, clothing, and utensils.

- ***Programs for Economic Development***
  including projects for industrialization on a small scale of products extracted from the forest; projects to adapt traditional artisan products to market demands; establishment of community marketing channels; establishment of community-controlled transportation systems; projects to improve productivity of agriculture and animal husbandry where directed at the market;

- ***Programs for Maintaining a Healthy Community***
  including research on traditional healing practices, traditional medicines, health problems common to indigenous communities; projects to strengthen traditional

health practices; projects to improve drinking water,nutrition, and sanitary conditions where deficient; community-controlled health systems including primary care, diagnostic services, and stores of basic medicines; education and training for health care personnel.

- ***Programs for Bilingual and Intercultural Education***
  including research in the linguistics of Amazonian languages, on pedagogies relevant to our situations and cultures; training for indigenous teachers, linguists, and pedagogues; preparation of educational materials.

- ***Programs to defend Our Rights as Peoples***
  including research on reported violations of indigenous peoples rights, on Indian customary law; training of indigenous lawyers and para-legals; recourse to top legal advise when necessary; participation in fora promoting the rights of indigenous peoples; campaigns to end slavery, captive communities, debt peonage, and forced labor among indigenous peoples; campaigns against forced removals or relocations of indigenous peoples.

- ***Programs for Research and Documentation***
  including the coordination and systematization of information relevant to the programs of indigenous peoples within their organizations; establishment of libraries and research centers in the service of indigenous peoples and others who seek new models for Amazonian development.

- ***Programs for Strengthening and Communicating our Voice***
  including systems which allow easy communication among indigenous communities and organizations;participation in local, regional, national, and international fora where decisions are made which affect our well-being; visits and exchange of experiences among indigenous communities, organizations, and programs.

Evaristo Nugkuag Ikanan is the President of COICA, the Coordinating Body for the Indigenous Peoples' Organizations of the Amazon Basin.

Towards a Forest Peoples Charter

by Marcus Colchester

INTERIM REPORT ON PROGRESS

Introduction

In January 1990, the World Rainforest Movement embarked on a project to chart the foundation of a forest peoples' response to the tropical forest crisis, based on securing the rights of those who live in, and from, the forest to control their lands and destinies.

The project has four parts:

1) to help create an effective global network of forest peoples:
2) to help prepare a charter of forest peoples' demands:
3) to demonstrate the existence of real and practical examples of community based, sustainable forest management.
4) to counter top-down planning and official solutions to the deforestation crisis which deny local people a decisive voice in formulating decisions about resource use in their areas.

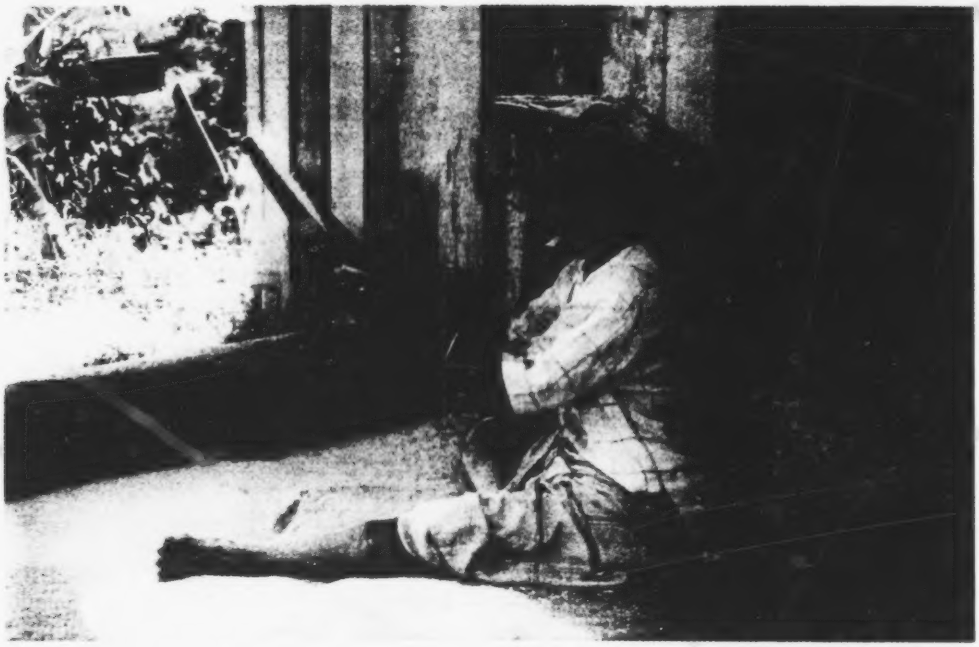
This report focuses on the second objective, and attempts to bring together in the form of a preliminary draft the common elements uniting the demands of forest peoples throughout the tropics.

A draft compilation, not a forest peoples'statement

It must be emphasised that this document - while compiled from documents, statements, manifestos and proposals from many forest peoples'organisations and Third World NGOs that work closely with them - *is not an authentic statement of the peoples themselves*. Rather it has been drafted to stimulate the development of such a statement. For this reason the text is in note form so as not to pretend to be a statement in its own right.

Nevertheless, it may be as well to point out that, in researching and drafting this statement - which draws together the perspectives of peoples as diverse as Amazonian Indians and traditional Thai farmers, Brazilian rubber tappers and indigenous peoples in the Philippines - , the unanimity of demands and perspectives has made itself very clear. In all instances, these peoples are demanding an end to the expropriation of the resources that underpin their livelihoods, they are demanding secure rights to the use and control of their lands, and an assurance that all plans for the development of their regions should be with their free and informed consent.

The text bring together the demands and thinking of forest peoples' movements in a number of tropical countries - specifically the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, India, Brazil, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia.



A Kenyah (Malaysia) woman winnowing grain. The World Rainforest Movement is voicing out the aspirations of forest peoples living in the tropical rainforests, as well as those whose ways of life are closely dependent on it. (Photo: IWGIA archives)

Who are forest peoples?

Despite this clarity, two (foreseen) difficulties have clearly emerged in the drafting of this charter. The first is the difficulty of defining whose voice the charter purports to represent. Most obviously it attempts to bring together the voice of the tribal and indigenous peoples, estimated at some 50 million worldwide, who live in the tropical forests. It also embraces those other peoples who have long-established ways of life that are closely dependent on the forest - rubber-tappers and Brazil nut collectors in Amazonia being obvious examples, peasants and small-holders, who may not perceive themselves to be "indigenous", in South East Asian forest lands being others. These people may number as many as a further 150 million at a very rough estimate, and may be distinguished with difficulty from more recent migrants into forest regions. These latter people, numbering maybe 300 million worldwide, are themselves often victims of an unjust development process which has undermined their ways of life outside the forest, and whose traditions and systems of land use may not be well adapted to the forests in which they now find themselves for lack of choice.

Conflicts of interest

The presence of these millions of recent settlers in the forests - and their continued influx - poses the most serious challenge to the future of the forests and to the future of the other peoples already resident there. Very often the newcomers' demands for land and livelihood conflict with the needs and rights of those who are already established in the forests. This document does not recognise such recent comers as "forest peoples" but does have firmly in mind that these people too have legitimate needs and rights which cannot be ignored or denied.

However, the material on which this document is based makes clear that the diverse forest peoples' movements do not share a common view of how this problem should be resolved. While some forest people see these newcomers as invaders -as representatives of the economic and cultural system which is expropiating their lands and destroying their livelihoods- others recognise them as other victims of the modern development process, with whom they share a common political struggle.

DRAFT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Scope

Whose voice does the charter represent? This is a difficult area and must vary very much from country to country, and depending on the perspective of the groups concerned.

Whatever the scope finally decided on, indigenous people strongly insist that the definition of who or who should not be considered, must be on the grounds of self-identification, and not according to criteria which are imposed by outsiders.

Perspectives

The charter emerges from an experience of a continuing encroachment on forest peoples'lands, the undermining of their livelihoods, and the destruction of the forests that their welfare depends on.

The forest peoples of the tropics declare that they should be recognised as the true defenders of the forests,

That the land is to them more than an economic resource, but gives value and meaning to their lives, that the land has a spiritual value to many forest peoples, that forest peoples' territories are fundamental to their social and spiritual survival as distinct peoples,

There must be a recognition of the unity of people and territory,

A new global policy towards the forests must be based on a respect for cultural diversity, for a promotion of indigenous models of living, and an understanding that forest people have developed ways of life closely attuned to their environment.

Respect for human rights

There can be no rational or sustainable development of forests and peoples until basic human rights are respected.

Hupla children against the mist of a West Papuan mountain. The Hupla like many other forest peoples are threatened by dispossession of their traditional lands and a ruined environment. (Photo: Owen Telpke, TAPOL)

Forest peoples demand a respect for their human, political, social, economic and cultural rights, respect for their right to self-determination, respect for their right to pursue their own ways of life.

They demand respect for autonomous forms of community, ethnic and regional government, including the right to control the economic activities on their territories including mineral extraction.

They demand respect for their customary law, insofar as it is compatible with internationally recognised human rights.

In particular, forest peoples are calling for an end to violence, slavery, debt - peonage and land grabbing. They call for the disbanding of all private armies and militias and their replacement by the rule of law and social justice. They demand the means to use the laws in their own defense including the training of their people in law, and as para-legals.

They demand the setting up of international mechanisms to protect them against the violation of rights.

Land

Above all, forest peoples are demanding secure control of the lands that they depend on. They also demand that changes are made in national systems of land tenure to secure the livelihoods of those outside the forests.

Forest peoples' lands should be defined in accordance with local and customary systems of ownership and use. Where appropriate, land should be held communally and should be inalienable.

Indigenous people demand the right to the exclusive use and ownership of the territories which they occupy and use. Such lands and territories should be inalienable.

Indigenous territories should be demarcated in accordance with traditional claims and be adequate for their present needs and future development.

Others forest peoples and those who live on the forests' margins are demanding that their rights to access to the forests and to the continued and exclusive use of forest resources should be respected. Such lands should be demarcated in accordance with customary use and be adequate for their present needs and future development.

(The legal form of these claims varies considerably from country to country in accordance with the legal avenues available - communal forests, "nistari" rights, community forests, extractive reserves, etc. Further legal analysis is required to find a common formula that accords with all these claims - but unlike indigenous peoples, ownership rights are often **not** being claimed by - non -indigenous forest peoples.)

Moreover, and crucially, peoples who live on the forests' margins are demanding secure rights to the non-forested lands that they live from.

Some forest peoples, recognising that landlessness of the poor outside the forests is a major pressure on their lands, are also demanding effective land reform for non-forest peoples outside the forest. Some have even organised into fronts of solidarity with such peoples to press for agrarian reform.

Control

Forest peoples are demanding control over their lands and the resources that they depend on. This means that all development in their areas should only go ahead with their free and informal consent.

They demand the recognition of legal personality of their own institutions and the right to form associations to defend their rights and collectively negotiate their future.

They insist that they should be provided full information about any plans what may affect their futures.

Development Policy

Forest peoples demand the right to decide the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, territories, institutions and spiritual well-being and to exercise control over their own economic, social and cultural development.

They demand that they should be involved in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of plans and programmes for national and regional development which may affect them directly.

They demand that all major development initiatives should be preceded by social and enviromental impact assessments, which should be open to public scrutiny, and which should involve the local people.

When international agencies are funding development projects which may affect them, they demand the setting up of tripartite commissions - including the funding agency, government representatives and local people represented through their own institutions - to carry through the planning implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the projects.

Forest peoples are calling for an end to development schemes that destroy forests including colonisation programmes, dams, mining, shrimp farms in mangrove forests. They also call for the cancellation of all logging concessions that overlap forest peoples' lands. They demand an end to fiscal incentives which favour the clearance of forest lands for livestock and agriculture.

They also call for a halt to all imposed programmes aimed at resettling forest peoples away from their homelands.

Forest peoples are calling for a redirection of the development process away from large-scale projects towards the promotion of small-scale, locally-controlled initiatives. Such projects should be the cornerstone of future development in the forests.

The priority for such development programmes should be securing the lands and livelihoods of forest peoples, and securing their control over the lands and resources that they depend on.

In Brazil, forest peoples are calling for an end to development schemes like mining (here in Yanomami territory) which bring disease and death.
(Photo: Claudia Andujar, CCPY)

They demand that attention be given to programmes of primary health care, nutrition, sanitation and water supplies. Such programmes should show respect for traditional healing systems and allow local people to control such programmes and receive suitable training to allow them to manage them themselves.

They demand the provision of basic schooling, including facilities to allow bilingual education. Traditional forms of knowledge and belief must be respected by these programmes and must allow local people to control such programmes and receive suitable training to allow them to manage them themselves.

Forest peoples are also calling for the provision of credits to promote their local economies and for fair pricing mechanisms to favour forest products.

(Forest peoples are not unanimous on what should be done with colonists who have already settled on forest lands. Some call for the expulsion and compensation of such people from areas to which forest dwellers have prior claim by aboriginal title or long term use, they call for such people to be given priority in resettlement on lands outside the forest which should be made available through agrarian reform.)

Research

Forest peoples are demanding that they should be consulted and should participate in all research carried out on their lands and livelihoods.

Forest peoples are demanding that surveys should be carried out to determine their numbers, languages, distribution and systems of land use.

Some forest people call for research on new forest products to determine their value and suitability for the markets and call for programmes to evaluate and document indigenous systems of resource management both traditional and novel.

Reforestation

Forest peoples demand that the first emphasis should be on the protection of existing natural forests rather than on reforestation.

Reforestation programmes should be prioritised on degraded lands.

Wherever local people have claims to, or use, such lands, there should be community control of the reforestation programmes. Selection of species should be made by the local people in accordance with their needs.

Biodiversity

Programmes to conserve biodiversity must respect the intellectual property rights of forest peoples. (elaboration needed)

Conservation programmes must respect the right of forest peoples to the use and ownership of the lands and natural resources that they depend on. Forest peoples demand that no programmes to conserve biodiversity be promoted on their lands without their free and informed consent.

Some forest peoples oppose outright the creation of national parks on their lands. (It may be noted that National Parks and protected area legislation varies considerably from country to country. In some countries National Parks extinguish all prior rights of use and ownership. This is unacceptable to forest peoples. However, some forest peoples may be prepared to accept that contraints should be imposed on the means by which natural resources may be exploited on their lands. They still insist that such measures only be introduced with their free and informed consent.)

Forest peoples call for full involvement in the planning, implementation and management of protected areas.

Education

Forest peoples call for programmes of education to inform the general public about the rights of forest peoples in line with the above claims.

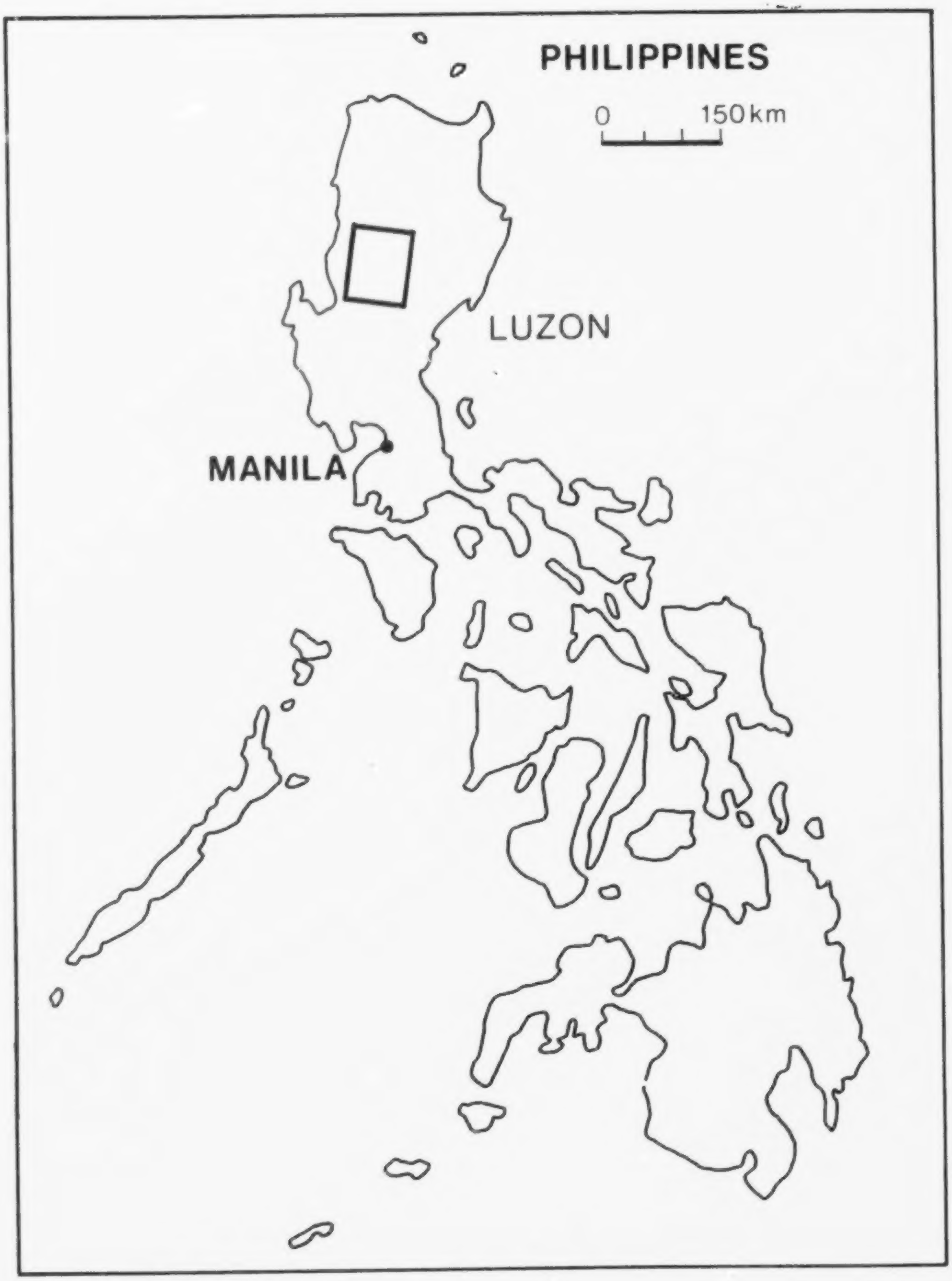
Marcus Colchester is Director, Forest Peoples Programme of the World Rainforest Movement.

IWGIA
INTERNATIONAL
WORK GROUP FOR
INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS

Newsletter

No. 62

December 1990


PHILIPPINES
0
150km
LUZON
MANILA

Indigenous women, environment and sustainable development

by Victoria Tauli-Corpuz

The historical and present roles of indigenous women in developing sustainable agriculture and protecting the environment have been ignored or were made invisible. Most historians and development planners are gender blind. In the frantic search for sustainable development models and effective programs to save what is left of the environment, indigenous women will have a lot to say.

In spite of, or maybe because they were left out of mainstream development programs, many of them held on to their sustainable development practices.

A serious look into history will show us how indigenous women all over the world struggled against logging concessionaires, mining companies and governments to save their ancestral lands. Their roles as food producers, water-fetchers, fuel providers, childbearers and -rearers impelled them to defend the land, which is their partner in doing all these. They are the ones who are in the best position to understand the value of nature and land. Since they have been working in close partnership with nature through

The world-famous Banaue rice terraces as the setting where Cordillera women have done their part for the sustainable agriculture practised over thousands of years. (Photo: Teresa Aparicio, IWGIA) thousands of years to sustain life, they have developed ecological consciousness which should be sustained and propagated.

Indigenous women and nature in active partnership

Indigenous peoples regard their territories as their ancestral homelands, a concept which has historical, cultural and ecological implications. The dynamics of nature which is presented as land, history presented as ancestor, and home which describes the obtaining human relations, is aptly captured in this concept. The defense of the ancestral homeland from forces of destruction is not just defending territory but defending a whole lifestyle which is in close communion with nature.

In indigenous communities it is the woman who is the primary food producer, and her awareness of nature is that of a living force which is her partner in the production of sustenance. Her productivity is directly proportional to the continuing capacity of nature to renew its forests, soils and rivers. It is impossible for her to see food production as distinct from the forest, water and animal systems.

Indigenous women and men have maintained a deep reverence for nature. They worship the sun, Mother Earth, the trees, the forests, and the rivers. Their religious and cultural rituals are held to ask blessings from the spirits of their ancestors and their goddesses and gods to protect these. These rituals are performed to ask for a good harvest and to call forth the rain. Many of these practices still linger on, even if the Christian colonizers branded such as pagan and barbaric.

Indigenous women and men also have knowledge of tree species which are water-conserving and those which are highly water-consuming. Water-conserving trees are regarded as sacred and should not be cut. The indigenous women's knowledge of agriculture and forestry is very basic: land and forest should not be abused; these should be allowed to rest, for them to be able to regenerate.

Colonization, Market Economy and Impact on Indigenous women and the environment

With the industrial revolution, capitalist development and subsequent colonization, the prominent role of indigenous women as resource managers and protectors of the environment changed. Subsistence economies which relied on nature and women for the satisfaction of basic needs, had to be transformed into a market economy. Colonization had to be carried out to ensure a continuous supply of raw materials, and in order to develop markets which will absorb the surplus products of rich nations.

The framework of industrialization and capitalist accumulation has rendered the wealth created by nature and women invisible. Economic growth and productivity is measured with generation of cash, profit, and surplus. Therefore, nature and indigenous peasant women who are engaged in subsistence food production and who do not generate cash or surplus are not considered productive. They are simply resource bases, raw materials, labour power and inputs.

Development from the perspective of the western development experts and multinational corporations ensured the perpetuation of the economic and political domination of developed nations over the Third World. The domination of man over nature and over women. The green revolution of "scientific agriculture" hastened the erosion of subsistence economies to be subsumed into the market or cash economy. Cash crop production took precedence over production for sustenance.

The symbiotic relationship of nature and women for the production of sustenance was disrupted. The management of food systems, forests and rivers shifted from the women to food and agri-business and multinational corporations, as well as international lending institutions. The integrated functions of agriculture, forestry, animal raising, and water management were dichotomized and fragmented.

Forestry was treated independently of agriculture, and the multiple functions and output of the forest were reduced into one: lumber for cash and profit. Oppressive forestry laws were enacted by colonial and post colonial governments to facilitate the logging of the forests. Forests which are communally taken cared of by tribes and clans were declared government or public lands and reservations. The military apparatus was used if the indigenous peoples defended their forests. The imposition of the western brand of commercial forestry in the Third World and in the ancestral homelands of indigenous peoples led to the massive destruction of forests which resulted in permanent destruction of the environment.

Social forestry which propagated single species, single commodity production plantations destroyed the biological diversity and integrity of living resources in the forests. This biological diversity is crucial for soil and water conservation. It also meant deprivation of the traditional land use rights of indigenous women over the forests. While logging corporations and governments benefited from this arrangement, the women became marginalised. The men in the villages became the lumberjacks who were paid measly sums which went into buying alcohol and tobacco.

The green revolution has undermined the roles played by nature, and indigenous women in sustainable agriculture. While before, the women were the ones who selected, stored and sowed varied indigenous rice varieties, this role is systematically removed from them. The control of seeds and crops, access to land use, forests and waters have shifted from women, to multinational corporations, governments and international lending agencies. Renewable inputs from farms, forests and rivers are replaced by non-renewable inputs from multinational corporations producing fertilizers, pesticides, seeds and chemical animal feeds.

Irrigation water which originally came from natural rivers, streams and springs, had to come from man-made diversion dams. The indigenous irrigation systems which maintained sophisticated rice terraces and which were communally taken cared of was taken over by the IBRD (International

Bank for Rural Development) and the IMF-WB. This was done through national irrigation agencies set up by government. Flooding, drought, topsoil erosion and desertification have resulted from implementing development programs which violate the cycles of life in rivers, soils, mountains and forests. Cash cropping, logging, mining, and damming rivers have resulted in rivers and groundwaters drying up, and also in water and air pollution. Water-logging and salinization developed because of the diversion of water from its natural routes.

Commercial mining which is highly destructive to the land and the environment was imposed also through legislation and outright landgrabbing. Mining laws rode roughshod over ancestral land laws. Sustainable small-scale mining activities of women and men were prohibited through laws and harassment by government and mining officials. The men were herded to mining camps, leaving the women and the children to continue subsistence food production. Later the women were brought to mining camps to become housewives.

Militarization as Partner of "Development"

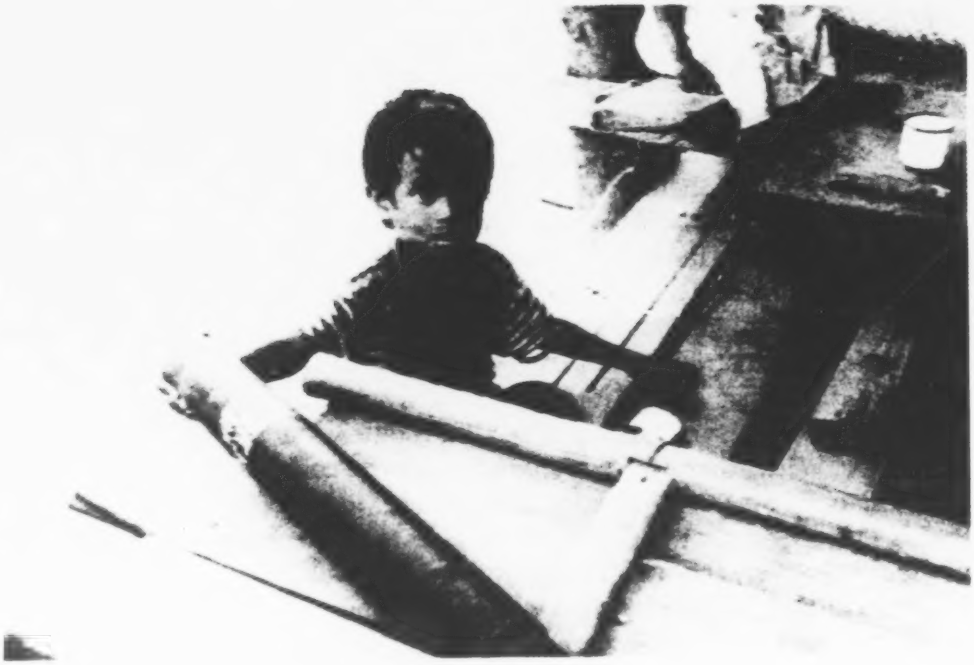
Militarization came along with all these attempts to wrest control over the land from the indigenous women and men. All throughout history, indigenous peoples were subjected to the worst forms of militarization, for them to surrender their lands to colonizers and business corporations. The symbiotic existence of indigenous women with the land was destroyed all in the name of development.

The worst forms of destruction of the ancestral domain and environment were carried out by multinational corporations and government agencies. Open-pit mining, indiscriminate logging, short-lived big dam projects, and other destructive infrastructure were pushed through with the help of oppressive laws and militarization.

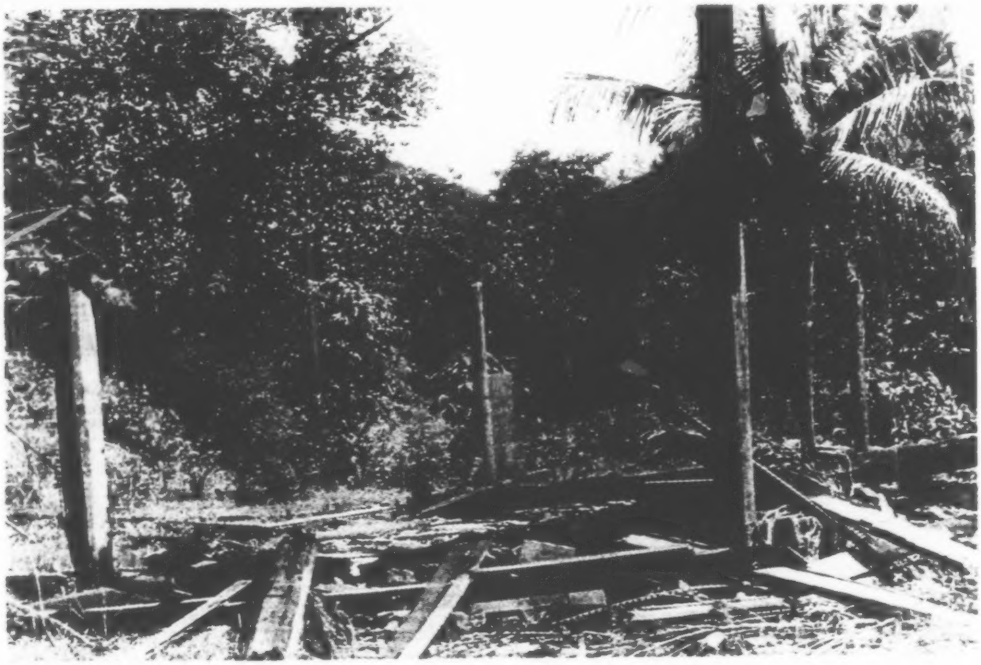
Presently, several indigenous peoples' communities in the Cordillera are being subjected to severe aerial bombings and strafing. Marag Valley in Apayao where the last remaining tropical rain forests within the Cordillera are located is one of these places. It was learned that logging concessionaires are supporting these military operations because they would like to pursue their logging operations which were stopped by *Aggays and Isnegs* (indigenous peoples living in this area).

Responses of Indigenous Women

Indigenous women in the Third World did not take all these lying down. While their roles in written history remained invisible, the women were in the forefront in many of the struggles launched against efforts of government or multinational corporations to dislocate them from their beloved ancestral homelands. The struggle against the World Bank-sponsored Chico River Dam Project in the Cordillera region in the Philippines in the mid-70s is just one of the many fine examples. The Chipko movement in India is another.



Militarization results in a climate of "developmental aggression", where aerial bombings and strafing are used to drive the indigenous peoples out of the remaining tropical forests in Marag Valley. Upper photo shows Isneg child with recovered bomb shell, in burned out house (lower photo) in Calabigan.
(Photos: CPA)



In the Chico Dam struggle, the indigenous women in the Cordillera organized themselves and trekked to the site where the surveyors set camp. They dismantled the tents of the men and carried these to the town capital. Together with the men, they were detained several times in the military barracks because of their stiff opposition to the government project. However, they did not allow themselves to be cowed, and they continued resisting until the World Bank and the Philippine government were forced to cancel the whole project. This experience was cited by Walden Bello in his book, **Development Debacle**, as one of the worst setbacks suffered by one of the most sophisticated international financial institutions. This defeat was at the hands of pre-industrial tribal peoples.

The resistance offered by the Mainit women in the Cordillera against the biggest mining corporation in the Philippines, the Benguet Corporation, is another. When they were offered cash by the company, the women and men discussed among themselves how to react to the offer. The women said that if they get the cash they may be able to buy what they immediately needed. However, this will mean that their ricefields will be gone forever. Where will they get the next supply of rice when the cash runs out? They decided to stick it out with their fields and fought the mining corporation.

Indigenous women in the Philippines have always risen to the environmental challenges, for example protesting against the World Bank sponsored Chico Dam. (Photo shows young woman from the Cordillera, reading indigenous demands during a demonstration. (Photo: IWGIA archives)

This also happened in the mid-70s. Up to now, the mining corporation is still trying to convince them to have their lands mined.

Challenges to feminists, environmentalists and development activists

The conventional analysis of women and environment has always stressed women as victims of the degradation of the environment. Women have had to walk farther for fuel and water because of deforestation. The deterioration of their health multiplied several times over, because of the increased burdens of having to carry heavy loads over long distances, and because of the increasing scarcity of food.

While it is important to put stress on this, it is more dynamic to show the central role that women will play in the environmental movement. The indigenous women who have been involved in struggles against the destruction of their ancestral lands are speaking not only as victims, but also as liberators. Their comprehensive knowledge and experience in the production and defense of life in the face of anti-nature and anti-women programs of government and other vested interests, are very valuable.

Kalinga woman. An alternative framework for development should seriously look into what indigenous women -as food producer, water fetcher, childbearer, etc.- can contribute in terms of comprehensive knowledge and experience.
(Photo: IWGIA archives)

The opening struggles which they are still waging up to the present, need the support of those who are concerned for the environment and those who are against the increasing marginalization and oppression of indigenous women. By linking and identifying with their struggles, social activists in the First World and in the Third Wold will have the strength to resist the moves of vested interests to co-opt their movements. Presently, multinational corporations and the IMF (International Monetary Fund) - WB (World Bank) are trying very hard to present themselves as equally concerned with the environment. While this attempt to posture themselves as such is an effect of the growing strength of the environmental movement, we should never be deluded.

The dangers of being co-opted can be avoided if we do not fall into the trap of handling the issues of environment, development or women in a dichotomized or fragmented manner. The focus of movements working for radical change should be in finding common grounds among their seemingly disparate struggles, and seeking strength from the most marginalized and oppressed sectors of people in the world: the indigenous women in the Third World.

The formulation of an alternative framework for development in the face of the failures of the mainstream development model should seriously look into what the indigenous women can offer. Those who have fought and struggled to maintain their ancestral domain and their environment at the expense of their lives are the environmental and development experts. Their roles in history should be made visible and their efforts to strengthen subsistence economies should be supported.

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz is Director of the Cordillera Women's Education and Resource Centre.

The Home Rule natural resource management and environmental protection programme.

by Finn Lynge

General information

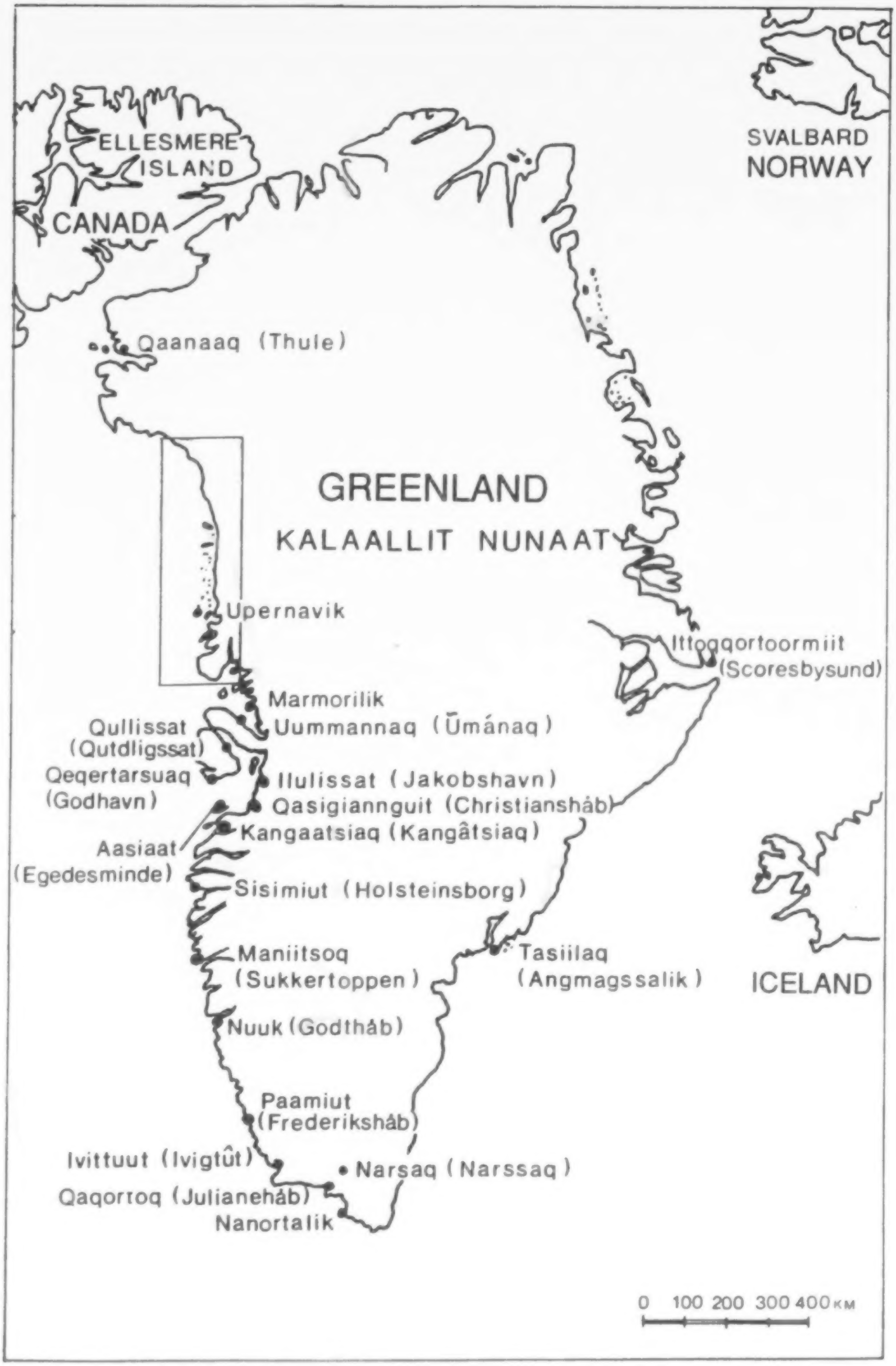
Greenland is the world's largest island, covering almost 2.5 mill. km² and stretching from 60° to 84° northern latitude, closer to the North Pole than any other northern latitude land mass.

Most of this area is uninhabitable because of the inland ice. The large inland glacier, covering more than three-fourths of the country, consists of an estimated 3 mill. cubic kilometer of fresh water ice. Only the Antarctic contains more.

55 000 people live on the coastal fringe of this large land mass. About 20% or approx. 11 000 people, depend on hunting for their livelihood. Not hunting-and-gathering, not hunting-and-fishing, but hunting alone. Where these people live, no other livelihood is possible.

In the world's largest island, most of the land area is uninhabitable because of the inland ice, and where 20 % of the population are engaged in hunting alone for their livelihood. (Photo: Staffan Julen, Swedish Film Institute)

Map of Greenland



Greenland contains many minerals, but for the time being, no mineral exploitation is taking place. 75 to 80% of the GNP is based on fishing. Fishing, in turn, is based on shrimp, cod, capelin, salmon, Greenland halibut, redfish and Atlantic halibut. These resources represent the export value of the Greenland economy.

Living resources

The terrestrial mammals, which play a role in people's economy, are caribou, musk oxen, snow hare and Arctic fox.

The fowl is prominent in the subsistence economy. Among land fowl, only the ptarmigan has some significance. What is really important is the role of the sea fowl. Here, one should mention the guillemot, auk, kittiwake and various types of gulls, cormorant, loon, great northern diver and a number of different species of geese and ducks, plus the common eider and the king eider.

Speaking of subsistence hunt, the most important, of course, is the traditional consumptive use of sea mammals. We are a nation of sealers. Five different species of seals frequent our coasts, all abundant and non-threatened: the ringed, harp, harbour, bearded and hooded seal. Also whales abound. We have the blue whale, the bowhead, humpback and sei, all fully protected as we know. The fin and minke whales are quotaed by the International Whaling Commission, and the small cetaceans - beluga, narwhal and harbour porpoise are outside the scope of IWC, and thus unquotaed. To conclude on the marine mammals, one should also mention the walrus, and the polar bear - the latter covered by the Oslo Convention of 1972, which allows for aboriginal subsistence hunt.

In order to understand the nature of natural resource management in Greenland, we will have to say just a few words about the political situation.

Greenland was a colony of Denmark for about two and a half centuries. After a brief period of attempted integration into Denmark (1953 -79), Greenland obtained local autonomy or Home Rule, which is the present situation.

The Greenland population has always been dependent upon the direct use of the wildlife resources, so one of the first points on the agenda after the introduction of Home Rule was to ensure a well-functioning natural resource management programme.

Conservation and management legislation

The Home Rule Assembly adopted the Nature Conservation Act of 1980, to be followed up and completed by the Environment Protection Act of 1988. These laws build upon the old traditions of local management of fish and game, which were prominent already in colonial times. These local traditions are now incorporated into legislation, which is a mosaic of central Home Rule government edicts and decentralized municipal regulations.

Flensing a Greenlandic seal, the most important of sea mammals in a nation of sealers. (Photo: Søren Forchhammer)

The legislation in question builds upon:

a) local experience (which, in our case, is equivalent to indigenous experience)
b) advice from Greenlandic researchers
c) advice from Danish researchers (biologists and experts in various fields)
d) international advice obtained:
    I. in international fora like the Oslo Convention, CITES, Ramsar, IWC and, of course, the IUCN; and/or
    II. bilaterally, like in the Canada-Greenland agreement and consultations concerning the beluga and narwhal of the Baffin Bay and the Thule area.

Pursuant to the Home Rule Act of 1978, international cooperation is always established on the basis of a close cooperation with Danish authorities.

Administration

Internally in Greenland, the natural resource administration is organized as a two-fold operation:

1) environmental administration
2) natural resource administration.

The environmental administration deals with the park system, mineral exploitation, pollution problems, CITES-regulations and international environmental cooperation. The environmental administration of the Greenland Home Rule works closely together with the Ministry for the Environment in Denmark.

The Natural Resources Administration works together with the scientific community at various Danish university centers, as well as with relevant international organizations. This administration deals with the regulation of fisheries and biological research in this connection, hunting regulations and research dealing with the animals in question, development of data bases that facilitate the statistical work which is necessary, the Ramsar areas, and the international cooperation in these fields.

Control systems

As far as the environment goes, the built-in control systems reside in:

- the National Park Committees under Home Rule authority
- the Danish Polar Center in Copenhagen, which among other things issues licenses for expeditions into the park areas
- the joint Greenland/Denmark Mineral Exploitation Council
- the police (which is under Danish jurisdiction).

As far as the natural resources are concerned, the control functions reside in:

- the fisheries inspection, which in practice is taken care of by the Danish navy

- the police
- a corps of wildlife conservation officers, newly-established by the Greenland Home Rule authority.

Two words about the park system

The North East Greenland National Park is the world's largest, measuring some 972 000 km^2, an area larger than the territories of Great Britain and France put together. It was instituted by an act of the Danish Parliament in 1974, and in 1988 further extended by an act of the Greenland Home Rule Assembly.

Ramsar sites have been instituted along the coast of both East and West Greenland. They cover together 10 500 km^2 and are open to subsistence hunt according to local municipal rules. The municipal councils have the power to lay out their own protected areas and enforce their own conservation measures. The Greenland coastline is one long mosaic of regulated areas, each with their own rules according to species and seasons.

Two words about the licensing system

There are three types of hunting-fishing licenses, aside from a tourist sports license:

1. The green license given to the full-time subsistence hunter
2. The red license given to the part-time subsistence hunter
3. The blue license given to the leisure/free-time (week-ends,holidays) hunter/fisher

The tourist sports license for fishing and hunting may not be used for musk oxen or polar bear hunting, nor - of course - for whaling.

Two words about the commercial importance of wildlife harvest

Greenland is a fishing nation which, to a very considerable extent, relies on hunting for subsistence as well as for capital income, directly as well as indirectly.

Greenlanders are meat-eaters. Nobody can grow potatoes on the ice cap. People hunt for their daily food, which is meat. This is the subsistence life style.

The capital value is indirect in the sense that the protein/vitamin volume which is harvested is "bought" from Mother Nature for the price of some boat fuel and ammunition. If it were to be bought from foreign lands in the shape of southern countries' produce, it would be forbiddingly expensive. For example, the IWC-allowed subsistence quota of 105 minke whales and 23 fin whales represents some 440 tons of meat. Society simply could not shoulder the expense of importing 440 tons of beef or pork, apart from the fact that neither beef nor pork contain the nutritional value that whale meat does, and which is needed to live in the Arctic.

Although a nation of meat eaters, Greenland is also a fishing nation. Photo shows halibut being sun-dried. (Photo: Mads Fægteborg)

Capital value of wildlife harvest is direct when sealskins are exported. Seals are harvested at an annual rate of approx. 100 000 - some 70 000 ring seals and the rest spread out over the other four species. Seals are shot for food, and every single one is eaten. The skins are exported. This trade received a terrible blow, and a most unfair one, in the wake of the anti-sealskin campaigns, which were directed at something completely different. These campaigns had a near-catastrophic effect for our seal hunting communities, which became unable to support themselves economically from this non-resource-threatening and perfectly legitimate wildlife harvest.

Four basic principles

1. The IUCN must honour the right to harvest wildlife resources. Hunting for livelihood has been *homo sapiens'* lifestyle for five hundred thousand years. It is an honourable occupation which demands respect.
2. The IUCN should see to it that this right is formally stipulated in the conservation strategies of the nineties and onward.
3. The IUCN must uphold the right to an economically sustainable activity derived from an ecologically sustainable exploitation of the wildlife resources in question.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The hearing on Arctic resources held at the Danish Parliament, where the conclusion was: In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence. (Photo: Karsten Barsøe)

4. The IUCN should urge member countries to keep market regulations and trade policies in place which are respectful of this right.

These four principles build upon:

1. The Brundtland Commission Report "Our Common Future"; the chapter and sub-section entitled "Empowering Vulnerable Groups"
2. The ILO Convention, Doc.No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples' Rights.
3. The Convention of 1966 concerning Civil and Political Rights, and on Economic Social and Cultural Rights, which has been signed and ratified by virtually every single nation represented in this room. In part I, Article 1,No. 2, it says:
   "In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence."

IWGIA NATIONAL GROUPS:

Copenhagen:
Fiolstraede 10
DK-1171 Copenhagen K
DENMARK

Oslo:
pb 20, Blindern
N-0313 Oslo 3
NORWAY

Göteborg:
c/o Olle Hagman
Inst. of Social Anthropology
Västre Hamngatan 3
S- 411 17 Göteborg
SWEDEN

Lund:
c/o Friedman
Sociologiska Institutionen
P O Box 114
S- 221 00 Lund
SWEDEN

Zurich:
c/o Thomas List
Feldegesstrasse 11
CH- 8406 Winterthur
SWITZERLAND

The reproduction and distribution of information contained in IWGIA publications is welcome as long as the source is cited. However, the reproduction of whole Documents should not occur without the consent of IWGIA according to our copyrights. The opinions expressed in IWGIA publications do not necessarily reflect those of the Work Group.

Price 10 US$

IWGIA
INTERNATIONAL
WORK GROUP FOR
INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS

The International Secretariat of IWGIA
Fiolstraede 10
DK-1171 Copenhagen K
Denmark

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

278